United Nations S/PV.3829

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3829th Meeting

Thursday, 6 November 1997, 12.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Berrocal Soto
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Rana
	Poland	Mr. Matuszewski
	Portugal	Mr. Brito
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in the Central African Republic

Letter dated 27 October 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Gabon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1997/821)

Letter dated 4 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of the Central African Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1997/840)

97-86425 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of November, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Juan Somavía, Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations, for his service as the President of the Security Council for the month of October 1997. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Somavía for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Central African Republic

Letter dated 27 October 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Gabon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1997/821)

Letter dated 4 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of the Central African Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1997/840)

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Central African Republic to the United Nations, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Deinde Fernandez (Central African Republic) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the letter dated 27 October 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Gabon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the letter dated 23 October 1997 from the President of the Gabonese Republic addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1997/821, and the letter dated 4 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of the Central African Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the letter dated 17 October 1997 from the President of the Central African Republic addressed to the Secretary-General, document S/1997/840.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1997/849, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1997/828, which contains the text of a letter dated 28 October 1997 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the sixth and final periodic report of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements (MISAB).

The first speaker inscribed on my list in the representative of the Central African Republic, on whom I now call.

Mr. Deinde Fernandez (Central African Republic): Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November.

May I, on behalf of my Government, express to the members of the Council our sincere gratitude for the important draft resolution it is about to consider. We are confident that, with the great wisdom that exists in this Chamber among members of the Council, a suitable solution will be found before February for the continuation of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements (MISAB).

Once again, I pledge my Government's full cooperation with the Council, the Secretary-General and MISAB to strengthen and promote the cause of peace and democracy, and to create all the necessary conditions for a better life for all the people of my country, the Central African Republic.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of the Central African Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1997/849) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1136 (1997).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3830

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3830th Meeting

Thursday, 6 November 1997, 12.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Berrocal Soto
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Rana
	Poland	Mr. Matuszewski
	Portugal	Mr. Brito
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1997/827)

97-86431 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1997/827)

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Georgia and Germany to the United Nations in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Volski (Georgia) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Henze (Germany) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, document S/1997/827.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, of 28 October 1997 (S/1997/827).

"The Security Council regrets that, despite strenuous efforts to reactivate the peace process, there has been no visible progress on the key issues of the settlement — the future political status of Abkhazia and the permanent return of refugees and displaced persons.

"The Security Council attaches particular importance to the more active role for the United Nations in the peace process, and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to that end, with the assistance of the Russian Federation as facilitator, and with the support of the group of Friends of the Secretary-General on Georgia and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Council calls upon the parties to cooperate fully with these efforts.

"In this context, the Security Council regrets that the adjourned high-level meeting on the conflict in Geneva under the aegis of the United Nations did not resume in October as initially planned. It welcomes the intention of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to resume this meeting on 17 November to map out the areas where concrete political progress could be made, to take forward discussion of social and economic issues in support of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict, and to address the issue of return of refugees. The Council calls upon all concerned to do their utmost for the resumption of this meeting with the constructive engagement in particular of the Abkhaz side.

"The Security Council commends the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at achieving a comprehensive settlement of the conflict, including on the political status of Abkhazia within the State of Georgia, respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia, and the efforts undertaken by the Russian Federation as facilitator, in particular the initiative put forward by the President of the Russian Federation on 1 August 1997 and the Georgian-Abkhaz negotiations held in Sukhumi on 9 and 10 September with the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The Council welcomes the meeting of the President of Georgia and Mr. Ardzinba in Tbilisi on 14 August 1997 facilitated by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation and the continuation of direct dialogue between the parties, and calls upon them to intensify the search for a peaceful solution by further expanding their contacts.

"The Security Council further encourages the Secretary-General to take such steps as are necessary, in cooperation with the parties, to ensure a prompt and safe return of the refugees and

displaced persons to their homes, with the assistance of all relevant international organizations.

"The Security Council welcomes the decision of the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States mentioned in the report to extend the mandate of the Collective Peacekeeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS peacekeeping force) until 31 January 1998.

"The Security Council welcomes the good cooperation between the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and the CIS peacekeeping force and their efforts to promote stabilization of the situation in the zone of conflict. The Council calls upon the parties to cooperate fully with UNOMIG and the CIS peacekeeping force.

"The Security Council expresses concern at the continuing violations of the Moscow Agreement of 14 May 1994 on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces (S/1994/583, annex I) and calls upon the parties to ensure the full implementation of this agreement.

"The Security Council remains deeply concerned at the continuing unstable and tense security conditions in the Gali and Zugdidi sectors and in the Kodori valley. The Council strongly condemns the kidnapping of personnel of UNOMIG and the CIS peacekeeping force.

"The Security Council also condemns the continued laying of mines, including more sophisticated types of mines, which has already caused several deaths and injuries among the civilian population and the peacekeepers and observers of the international community. It calls upon the parties to take all measures in their power to prevent mine-laying and intensified activities by armed groups and to cooperate fully with UNOMIG and the CIS peacekeeping force in order to honour their commitments to ensure the safety and the freedom of movement of all personnel of the United Nations, the CIS peacekeeping force and international humanitarian organizations.

"The Security Council supports the additional measures envisaged by the Secretary-General in the report to improve the safety of UNOMIG personnel and to create conditions for the effective performance of its mandate.

"The Security Council welcomes the continued efforts by the United Nations agencies and humanitarian organizations to address the urgent needs of those suffering most from the consequences of the conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia, in particular internally displaced persons, encourages further contributions to that end, and reiterates its encouragement to States to contribute to the voluntary fund in support of the implementation of the Moscow Agreement and/or for humanitarian aspects including demining, as specified by donors.

"The Security Council reminds the parties that the ability of the international community to assist them depends on their political will to resolve the conflict through dialogue and mutual accommodation."

This statement will be issued as an official document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1997/51.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3831

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3831st Meeting

Wednesday, 12 November 1997, 1.20 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Berrocal Soto
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Japan	Mr. Owada
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Richardson

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

97-86485 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 1.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the following documents: S/1997/829, letter dated 29 October 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter of the same date from the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq addressed to the President of the Security Council, and S/1997/855 and S/1997/867, letters dated 6 and 10 November 1997 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, respectively, transmitting letters of the same date from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the President of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General, respectively; S/1997/830, S/1997/836, S/1997/837, S/1997/843, S/1997/848, S/1997/851 and S/1997/864, letters dated 30 October and 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 November 1997, respectively, from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission established by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 9 (b) (i) of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1997/833, letter dated 31 October 1997 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1997/872, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. Chile, Costa Rica, Japan, Poland, Portugal, the Republic of Korea and Sweden have joined the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/1997/872.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to convey greetings to you, Sir, and to express my delegation's deep gratification at seeing you guide our work in this month of November, particularly in the context of such a delicate and serious issue as the one now before us, which puts to the test key principles of the peaceful coexistence among nations and the very provisions of the Charter.

The core of the question is not merely the issue of sanctions but the Government of Iraq's outright defiance of the international community and of the very authority of the Security Council under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. This is a challenge that goes beyond the purely juridical; we are facing a political challenge with unforeseeable implications.

This circumstance explains more clearly than could mere words the unanimous and undivided reaction of the Security Council. The Government of Iraq is putting to the test the jurisdiction and the legal powers of this primary organ of the United Nations, whose fundamental responsibility — and it is important to recall this at this point — is to maintain international peace and security, as stipulated very precisely and explicitly in Article 24 of the Charter.

The sanctions regime imposed on Iraq has its origin — and it is also essential to recall this today — in an absolutely unjustifiable and reprehensible war of aggression and territorial conquest against a neighbouring, bordering country that is a State Member of the United Nations. It is true that seven years have elapsed, but neither time nor the unanimous and strongly expressed censure of the international community, the sanctions regime imposed by the Security Council, nor indeed international public opinion seem to have been enough to impress on the Iraqi authorities the gravity and far-reaching implications of its past actions and current defiance.

The sole purpose of the sanctions is to impress upon the political and military authorities of Iraq that they must comply with their international commitments and that the inspection activities of the Special Commission are intended to ensure that that country cannot use, develop, build or acquire armaments having a nuclear, biological or chemical capacity. This is a fundamental point, and the one to which resolution 687 (1991) refers. On this

last point the opinion of the international community is unanimous and unswerving.

The purpose of sanctions is not to affect the capacity for economic, social and political development of the Iraqi people or of Iraqi society. My country has maintained a consistent and clear-cut position on this issue. Costa Rica takes the view that the sanctions must be carefully designed so as to fulfil a single objective — that of changing the unlawful policies of the Government of Iraq and securing its full reintegration into the international community's legal framework.

The draft resolution that we are about to adopt, on which Costa Rica will vote in favour, falls within this set of principles. It is a firm and robust yet well-balanced draft resolution. Admittedly, it expands the sanctions regime, but the new provisions are confined solely to those political and military individuals who are responsible for this latest challenge by Iraq to the international community and the Security Council.

My delegation's greatest wish is to see the Government of Iraq reintegrated into the framework of international law and state clearly and firmly its resolve to comply with all the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 661 (1990) and 687 (1991). We hope and trust that the Baghdad authorities will act accordingly.

In conclusion, I should like to express to the Secretary-General the respect and esteem that my delegation feels for him as a result of his action in sending a high-level mission to Baghdad last week. This served to strengthen the authority of the Secretariat and demonstrated once again Secretary-General Annan's devotion to peace and his unswerving dedication to the provisions of the Charter and the powers that he holds under it.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Costa Rica for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden): The question before us is not only whether or not Iraq is cooperating with the United Nations Special Commission and its weapons inspectors. What we have seen is a clear refusal to abide by the decisions of the Security Council, and thereby also a challenge to the entire United Nations.

When the Council in October again demanded that Iraq comply with its obligations, Iraq shortly thereafter set out unacceptable conditions for the work of the Special Commission in the country. The Security Council swiftly demanded that Iraq rescind its decision. My Government commends the Secretary-General for his initiative, which then followed, to send a high-level mission to Baghdad to try to avert a potentially serious threat to international peace and security.

Regrettably, Iraq did not grasp that opportunity to find a solution to the crisis. Instead, it has continued to violate its obligations to cooperate fully and unconditionally with the Special Commission. In addition, it has implicitly threatened the safety of the reconnaissance aircraft operating on behalf of the Commission.

This is in flagrant violation of Iraq's obligations under relevant resolutions. It warrants a firm and clear response from the Security Council.

My delegation feels that the draft resolution before us is an appropriate response consistent with earlier Council resolutions. The measures will affect only those individuals who are responsible for, or are participating in, instances of non-compliance. Innocent Iraqi civilians will not be affected. Through diplomatic means, the Iraqi Government should now be made to understand that cooperation with the international community is in its own interest and in the interest of the Iraqi people.

It is the continuing and unanimous determination of the Security Council that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction must be eliminated. The draft resolution reflects that determination. It also underscores that full cooperation with the Special Commission and implementation of the relevant resolutions is the only way forward towards having the sanctions lifted. If Iraq wants to find an audience for its grievances, it should not challenge the international community and provoke the United Nations, but should cooperate and establish itself as a credible partner for dialogue.

The unity demonstrated in the Council today will send a clear message: that Iraq must rescind its decision and cooperate with the United Nations Special Commission fully, immediately and without conditions or restrictions. For these reasons, Sweden supports the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): Portugal deeply regrets this serious crisis, which was provoked by the Iraqi challenge to the authority of the Security Council. The obstacles repeatedly raised by the Iraqi authorities in the

last months to the work of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) are unacceptable. The Special Commission is an arm of the Security Council, with the duty to conduct inspections on its behalf. Challenging UNSCOM is challenging the Council is challenging the United Nations. That is intolerable.

Also intolerable is the decision announced by Iraq on 29 October and the Iraqi behaviour since then: the conditions Iraq has sought to impose on UNSCOM operations; its refusal to accept members of the Special Commission on grounds of their nationality; the removal of equipment; the threats against aircraft in the service of the United Nations.

The present draft resolution, which we have joined in sponsoring, is the logical outcome of previous decisions taken by the Council since June. Then, the Council sent a clear message of warning to the Government of Iraq by adopting unanimously resolution 1115 (1997). By that resolution the Council called upon Iraq to cooperate fully with the Special Commission or face additional sanctions.

On 29 October, the Council, once again unanimously, through the voice of its President, made a strong statement of condemnation of the decision of the Government of Iraq in attempting to dictate the terms of its cooperation with the Special Commission. The Council also warned of the serious consequences of Iraq's failure to comply immediately and fully with its obligations.

Portugal has supported all diplomatic efforts developed to make the Iraqi authorities understand the need to rescind their unacceptable decision and comply unconditionally with their obligations. We welcomed in particular the initiative taken by the Secretary-General in sending personal representatives all the way to Baghdad to try to convey this message directly to the Iraqi Government. Unfortunately, we have not seen any positive results.

This draft resolution is therefore the necessary next step. The additional sanctions foreseen are sharply targeted in order not to impose further suffering on the Iraqi population, which has made many sacrifices, or on neighbouring countries. They are designed to affect those Iraqi officials and members of the Iraqi armed forces who are responsible for Iraq's non-compliance with its obligations.

Nobody should forget why ultimately we are here, confronted with another crisis with Iraq — one more such crisis since 1990. Iraq faces sanctions imposed by the Security Council because Iraq violated international law by invading another country. The United Nations has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Nor is it the aim of the United Nations to question Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It is in the hands of the Government of Iraq to bring an end to these sanctions. The only way they can be lifted is through Iraq's full compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council. They can be lifted soon, provided Iraq cooperates fully, honestly and unconditionally with UNSCOM.

We hope this clear message from the Council will finally be understood in Baghdad, so that a new path of true cooperation with the Security Council will be opened. We want the Iraqi nation to regain its full role within the international community and the Iraqi people to see an end to their suffering.

Mr. Owada (Japan): Let me begin by stating the fundamental position of Japan that it is Japan's sincere wish to see Iraq immediately and unconditionally comply with all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council so that Iraq can resume normal relations with the international community. It is for this reason that Japan, after the Iraqi decision on 29 October to impose conditions on its cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), has made a series of diplomatic efforts in Tokyo, in Paris and in New York to persuade Iraq to comply fully with the relevant Security Council resolutions. But Iraq has not responded positively to these efforts by Japan.

Other countries, both within and outside the Council, as well as the Secretary-General through the dispatch of his three envoys, have also endeavoured to persuade Iraq to rescind its decision. It is most regrettable that Iraq has to this day not rescinded its decision of 29 October.

The Security Council pronounced its unequivocal and united position through the presidential statement of 29 October 1997 [S/PRST/1997/49] that the Iraqi decision of 29 October is unacceptable. It demanded that Iraq cooperate fully with UNSCOM in accordance with the relevant resolutions, and without any conditions or restrictions.

The exclusion of UNSCOM personnel of a certain nationality from field activities is totally unacceptable

from the standpoint of ensuring the effective execution of UNSCOM's mandate and in the light of Article 100 of the Charter of the United Nations. Also, Iraq's position on the aircraft operating on behalf of UNSCOM cannot be accepted. What is more, the letter dated 5 November 1997 from the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM [S/1997/851] states that Iraq had moved dual-use equipment subject to monitoring by UNSCOM without the required prior notification and had apparently tampered with UNSCOM's monitoring cameras. As indicated by the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM, Ambassador Butler, such acts might prejudice the future long-term monitoring capabilities of the Special Commission and of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This is a cause for grave concern on our part.

The Security Council must address the issue of the Iraqi decision to impose conditions on its cooperation with UNSCOM with the utmost seriousness, in particular because the issue concerns the programme of the elimination of weapons of mass destruction from Iraqi soil and directly affects peace and security in the region.

In the course of the recent repeated cases of Iraqi non-cooperation with UNSCOM, which has continued since June, Iraq has been given ample time to accept the Council's just and unequivocal demand that it cooperate immediately and unconditionally with UNSCOM. Iraq had been offered a chance to rescind its decision of 29 October when the Secretary-General dispatched three envoys to Baghdad last week.

Despite these efforts, Iraq continues to refuse to resume full cooperation with UNSCOM. Instead, Iraqi authorities are suggesting unacceptable preconditions for its resumption of cooperation with UNSCOM and for its compliance with the relevant resolutions. Such Iraqi actions are a challenge to the authority of the Security Council, as well as to the international community.

Under these circumstances, the Security Council, acting in unity and with firmness, is going to declare that this Iraqi position is unacceptable. The Council demands that the Iraqi Government cooperate immediately and unconditionally with UNSCOM.

Japan joins all the other members of the Council in support of this draft resolution.

In conclusion, Japan calls on the Government of Iraq to accede to this united voice of the international community.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): The Polish delegation expresses its grave concern that, instead of adhering to the decisions of the Security Council contained in its resolutions 1115 (1997) and 1134 (1997), the Government of Iraq has chosen to impose conditions on its cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), thus posing a challenge to the United Nations and the authority of its Security Council.

Having ignored the 29 October 1997 statement by the President of the Security Council, Iraq has further aggravated the current crisis. Due to the intransigent position of the Iraqi authorities, the Special Commission has been prevented from discharging its responsibility under Security Council resolutions.

Along with others, the Polish delegation remains extremely concerned at the successive incidents involving Iraqi discrimination against some of the United Nations personnel on the grounds of their nationality. We are equally concerned at the instances of Iraqi interference in the effective operation of the monitoring system, including the removal of dual-use equipment from the view of UNSCOM surveillance cameras, as well as at the Iraqi demand that the aircraft operating on behalf of the Special Commission be withdrawn from use, with the accompanying implicit threat to its safety.

Numerous appeals made by Member States to reverse the course taken by the Government of Iraq have remained unheeded.

In view of the seriousness of the situation and the potential escalation of the crisis, we supported the initiative of the Secretary-General to send his high-level mission to Baghdad to convey to the Iraqi authorities the clear and unambiguous message that Iraq must return immediately to full compliance with all relevant Security Council resolutions. Regrettably, that mission did not reach its intended and much desired objective.

In its resolutions 1115 (1997) and 1134 (1997), the Council expressed and reaffirmed its firm intention to adopt additional measures, in case of Iraqi failure to fully cooperate with UNSCOM, to ensure unconditional compliance by Iraq with its obligations in this regard.

Today, faced with the unchanging position of Iraq, the Council cannot but follow unanimously and decisively the logic of its earlier decisions.

The draft resolution before us reiterates the Council's demands concerning the full and unconditional cooperation of Iraq with the Special Commission. It reflects the determination of the Council to ensure that the Special Commission continues its progress towards the elimination of Iraqi programmes of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the Council's commitment to see the completion of the UNSCOM mandate.

We express our earnest hope that the present draft resolution will yet again remind the Government of Iraq that its full cooperation with UNSCOM is one of the basic conditions which must be fulfilled for the process of the lifting of sanctions to begin. Poland, for its part, would certainly welcome the attainment of such an outcome as quickly as possible.

That is why Poland supports the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Larraín (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We regret that it has been necessary to meet today in this Chamber, but this is dictated by the fact that the Government of Iraq not only is not complying with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, but is also actually defying them. This is inadmissible.

On 29 October the Government of Iraq took the decision to impose conditions on its cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). On that same day, the Security Council reacted by condemning that decision and demanding that Iraq cooperate fully in the discharge of UNSCOM's mandate. However, that was not enough, and we have witnessed Iraq's continued obstruction of the work of the Special Commission.

Let us recall that UNSCOM has a mandate from the Security Council — that is to say, from the international community — to ensure that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction are eliminated. That mandate imposes an inescapable obligation on Iraq. Regrettably, Iraq has hindered the fulfilment of that mandate, and we now find ourselves compelled to respond with a new Security Council resolution.

It is very important to bear in mind that this draft resolution has behind it the full weight of the Council, which is acting unanimously. The Government of Iraq must understand the clear message that is being sent to it by the international community through this draft resolution.

We should like nothing better than to see this difficult situation created by the Iraqi authorities resolved. This will be possible only to the extent that the Government of Iraq fully complies with the relevant resolutions of this Council.

We wish to reaffirm once again our support for the Special Commission in its effort to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council. In this context, we would remind the Government of Iraq of its responsibility in connection with the security of the personnel of the Special Commission, which includes nationals of my country.

Lastly, my delegation would like to place on record today our particular appreciation to the Secretary-General for the initiative that he took at the beginning of this crisis, once again honouring his commitment to peace.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The draft resolution to be voted on today reflects the rapid succession of events during the last two weeks, since the beginning of the current crisis.

Since the beginning of this crisis, Egypt has called for all possible efforts to be made to contain it through dialogue and diplomatic means. Egypt has also called for averting confrontation and escalation and any action that would affect the stability of that sensitive part of the world.

In this regard, I would like to pay tribute to the efforts and the important contacts made recently by the Secretary-General. I would like to express Egypt's appreciation for the valuable effort made by the high-level mission sent to Baghdad under the chairmanship of Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi.

In addition, Egypt spared no effort in conducting contacts at all levels — at the highest levels — in Baghdad, in Cairo and here in New York. Up to the very last moment, we had hoped that all these efforts would be successful in defusing the crisis and in persuading Iraq to reverse its position, which would have negated the need to put the draft resolution before the Council today to the vote.

Egypt understands the feelings of despair and frustration of the ordinary people of Iraq because of their continued suffering, which results from the sanctions imposed on Iraq. There is not even a glimmer of hope that they will be lifted after the six and a half years

during which Iraq has been dealing with the United Nations Special Commission. While we recognize that its cooperation has not been ideal, it could be said that Iraq has gone a long way in that direction.

Nonetheless, we do not see wisdom in Iraq's insistence on its recent position with regard to the Special Commission. Nor do we see wisdom in its lack of responsiveness to the efforts we and other parties made to dissuade it from insisting on this position. We do not see wisdom in that position because it means squandering the achievements made on Iraq's long road of cooperation with the Special Commission over the past years. We do not see any wisdom in this position because the completion of the process of cooperation between Iraq and the Special Commission and of Iraq's compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Council is the means of lifting the sanctions imposed on Iraq and, therefore, the means of alleviating the suffering of our brothers, the Iraqi people.

On the other hand, the current crisis must be seen as a good opportunity to extract lessons. The Council must recognize this in its dealings with Iraq in the future. This should be in a manner that takes into account the concerns and suffering of the Iraqi people and the causes and ramifications of the feelings of frustration that lead to the taking of positions that, we hasten to reaffirm once again, are unacceptable to us. Such positions do not serve the interests of any party, including Iraq itself.

At yet another level, the Council should review the Special Commission's methods of work in order to ensure increased efficiency in carrying out its tasks as a subsidiary organ of the Council, within the context of the current dialogue taking place in the corridors of the United Nations on the need to reform all United Nations bodies in general. We are currently discussing reform and development in the General Assembly and in all other bodies, and we must do so here, too, so that we do not push Iraq, with its back to the wall, into believing that it has nothing to gain from its continued cooperation with the Commission and nothing to lose from a cessation of that cooperation.

At any rate, we share the conviction of many delegations, both members and non-members of the Council, regarding the necessity always to comply fully with constitutional provisions and legal standards by not depriving any State Member of the United Nations of the right to express its view before the Council, in accordance with Articles 31 and 32 of the Charter. This is the right of all States Members of the United Nations, especially if the question relates to sanctions imposed on that State under Chapter VII of the Charter. Such sanctions cause human suffering, as is well known.

In this context, I call upon the Council to take into very serious account the comments made by the Secretary-General in his talking points for his briefing of the members of the Council on 10 November with regard to the outcome of the mission of his envoys to Iraq:

(*spoke in English*)

> "Had Iraq agreed to return to full compliance, I would have had no hesitation to recommend to the Council that Iraq be granted a hearing by the Council in whatever format the Council might deem appropriate. I believe it is reasonable for any country being at the receiving end of United Nations sanctions to ask for such a hearing provided it strictly complies with the resolutions of the Council."

(*spoke in Arabic*)

The delegation of Egypt today finds itself in the very sensitive position of voting on a draft resolution that imposes any kind of sanctions on an Arab State. Indeed, we abstained in the voting on the draft resolution adopted by the Council last month as resolution 1134 (1997), which hinted at the imposition of some additional sanctions but did not go beyond that to their enforcement. But today we view the question from various angles. The delegation of Egypt participated in the consultations on the draft resolution. It proposed some amendments, including the addition of a paragraph on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of both Kuwait and Iraq. Fortunately, the sponsors responded positively to that amendment. The consultations also resulted in the deletion of some formulations in the preliminary draft that implicitly threatened dire consequences and the use of various methods in dealing with Iraq. Despite our very difficult position, Iraq's lack of responsiveness to the many and intensive efforts we and many other States made up to the very last minute leaves us with no choice but to vote in favour of the draft resolution in the hope that Iraq will alter its position and resume its cooperation with the Special Commission in a manner that will ensure the lifting of the sanctions and an end to the suffering of the brotherly Iraqi people.

While we intend to vote in favour of the draft resolution, we would like to place on record here our understanding that the travel restrictions contained in the

draft resolution must not obstruct Egypt's discharge of its responsibilities as the host country of the headquarters of the League of Arab States. This involves facilitating the participation of the States members of the League in its meetings held in Cairo. This is a responsibility which Egypt has the honour to undertake in its capacity as the host country, under the Charter of the League of Arab States. We should like also to place on record, and very clearly, our conviction that the draft resolution contains nothing that could open the way to an escalation of the situation, to the use of force or to resort to a military option. We hope that dialogue and the use of diplomatic means will continue, that normal relations will be resumed between Iraq and the Special Commission and that the constructive and fruitful cooperation between them will be resumed in manner that will enable the Council to consider lifting the sanctions imposed on the Iraqi people.

Mr. Mahugu (Kenya): First of all, we would like to state that we find Iraq's decision to expel United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) personnel of one nationality totally unacceptable. Iraq must rescind that decision.

Immense efforts have been made by many to resolve this crisis, but to no avail. In this regard, my delegation warmly commends the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his tremendous efforts, including his decision to send three special envoys to Baghdad in an attempt to defuse the situation. We feel that this was a timely and right decision that falls squarely within his mandate as Secretary-General. We, too, in this Council have an obligation to ensure that the situation gets our full attention and does not deteriorate further.

The draft resolution before us responding to this new situation is balanced and in our view sends a clear message to Iraq. We see it as an improvement on the initial draft, and it has in the main addressed our concerns. UNSCOM must be allowed to complete its work on the basis of the mandate given to it by the Security Council. We hope that the message will be heard.

We are disappointed that, despite the level of cooperation UNSCOM enjoyed and recorded in its latest comprehensive report [S/1997/774], we are confronted with the current level of tension, which must not be allowed to escalate any further. Today we are all united in accepting this draft resolution. What we would like to see, sooner rather than later, is a level of cooperation from Iraq's authorities that will allow the Council to review the sanctions imposed on Iraq. Such a review should provide a degree of hope to the people of Iraq. At the end of the day, they should be able to see light at the end of the tunnel.

In the meantime, Iraq, under a comprehensive sanctions regime, must comply with its resulting obligations substantively and in good faith. It is important that we all reject Iraq's decision of 29 October 1997, and Kenya will, therefore, support the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Cabral (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): On 3 April 1991, in resolution 687 (1991) the Security Council decided to establish a Special Commission which

> "shall carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's biological, chemical and missile capabilities, based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the Special Commission itself" [resolution 687 (1991), para. 9 (b) (i)]

That resolution is the legal and political framework which both defines and guides all the activities of the Special Commission, by clearly laying down its mandate and the obligations of the Iraqi authorities in the carrying out of this mission, decided upon by the Security Council on behalf of the international community.

Relations between the representatives of the Government of Iraq and the Special Commission have not always been in line with the spirit and the letter of the relevant Security Council resolutions. This is why the Security Council has always studied the successive reports of the Special Commission on the progress of its work with particular attention and has noted with concern the existence and persistence of certain difficulties, and even impediments to the execution of its mandate.

Many presidential statements and Security Council resolutions have recognized this state of affairs and expressed unambiguously the disapproval of the members of the Council with regard to the attitude and conduct of certain representatives of the Iraqi authorities, because in the Council's opinion they had departed from prior commitments and amounted to a serious failure to fulfil obligations. The Security Council has several times had to remind the Iraqi authorities how vital it was, as it still is, to cooperate fully with the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission and all the members of his team so as to facilitate their work and ensure that the purpose of the mission entrusted to them by the Security Council is

achieved in a satisfactory manner, because this is a precondition for the operation of the mechanisms provided for in resolution 687 (1991).

On 21 June 1997 the Security Council renewed its appeal and reiterated the principles underlying its action by adopting resolution 1115 (1997). Unfortunately, this did not have the desired results; it certainly did not lead to any change of attitude by the Iraqi authorities. Given the persistence of serious incidents, and faced with the need to shoulder its responsibilities with regard to not only the Special Commission, but all its personnel and the international community in general, the Security Council concluded after lengthy deliberations that further measures needed to be considered, measures which, by their coercive nature, could persuade the Iraqi authorities to respect their obligation to comply scrupulously with Security Council decisions by removing all the obstacles hampering the Special Commission or preventing it from carrying out its mandate. This was the thinking and purpose of resolution 1134 (1997).

The Security Council regarded as unacceptable the decision of the Iraqi authorities of 29 October, which challenges the operational capacity of the Special Commission and certain cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly Article 100. For several days, considerable efforts have been made to convince the Iraqi authorities of the need to rescind that decision, a decision which does not respect the established rules and, moreover, does nothing to further the interests of the Iraqi people. It is a decision whose possible consequences must be clear to all.

The Special Commission was set up by the Security Council and acts in its name. Therefore, the Council cannot tolerate disregard for its decisions or allow the Special Commission to be prevented from continuing its work to carry out its mandate.

In the view of my delegation, it should be possible to resolve the current crisis through dialogue without abandoning certain fundamental principles. The members of the Council have tried hard, and continue to try, to ensure that reason prevails, by favouring direct contact with the Iraqi authorities to reach a solution. The highly commendable initiative of the Secretary-General in sending three personal representatives to Baghdad and the bilateral approaches by many countries to Iraq are eloquent testimony to, and further evidence of, our desire to see the role accorded diplomacy further strengthened.

The aim of the Security Council is not and could not be to inflict further suffering on the Iraqi people, who have already been put through so much by so many years of hardship. But we are not responsible for this hardship. We are certainly very well aware of all the suffering of the Iraqi people. That is why the Security Council adopted resolution 986 (1995), in order to attest to its sensitivity to their sufferings and demonstrate its awareness of its responsibility to seek appropriate solutions.

But the international community cannot forget the reasons that compelled the Security Council to impose sanctions on Iraq in its name. All States have the obligation to comply with and respect the principles set out in the United Nations Charter, in particular that of non-aggression and non-occupation by force. What happened in Kuwait must never happen again. And I would add that it is our duty to persist in seeking to determine the fate of prisoners of war and persons who disappeared during the occupation of Kuwait, without forgetting the vital need to restore to Kuwait all its records and other illegally seized assets.

My delegation desires to see the creation of all the necessary conditions for the Special Commission to continue its work without difficulty or hindrance, with a team that should continue to be distinguished by its ability, impartiality and diversity of national origin, which are the basic, essential and inviolable criteria for any action carried out in the name of and on behalf of the United Nations. This is the goal of the draft resolution. Guinea-Bissau will support its adoption and assist in its implementation.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): France regrets that Iraq did not wish to rescind its unacceptable decision to limit its cooperation with the Special Commission. We were among the first to express our disapproval of this decision, which violates resolutions of the Security Council. We very quickly agreed to a strong, unanimous statement by the President of the Council condemning Iraq's attempt to dictate the conditions of its cooperation with the Special Commission and demanding total cooperation from Iraq. In the days that followed, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of France and Russia recalled, in a joint statement dated 1 November, that resolutions of the Security Council are mandatory for all States and must be fully implemented. No discrimination with regard to any Member State can

be tolerated. We must remain firm on this principle, which is in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations.

Persistent diplomatic efforts were made to seek a way to end the crisis. From the start, France supported the initiative of the Secretary-General to send a mission to Baghdad to persuade Iraqi leaders to reverse their decision. Here I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his courageous initiative, as well as the members of the mission, whose work was commendable, but unfortunately without success. We ourselves made repeated efforts in our discussions with the Iraqi authorities to convince them to rescind their decision. Until the last minute, we believed reason would prevail. Unfortunately, that was not the case.

So today we require a strong and unanimous reaction from the Security Council to send a clear signal to Baghdad. This reaction will not take place in a vacuum. Resolutions 1115 (1997) and 1134 (1997) have already urged Iraq to cooperate fully with the Special Commission. These words were not heeded, much to our regret.

The reaction of the Council that we will be expressing must, however, be balanced and commensurate with the realities of the situation. The nature of the sanctions — that is, travel restrictions — was already covered in resolutions 1115 (1997) and 1134 (1997). In fact, these sanctions will not worsen the situation of the Iraqi people, who are already sorely tried by seven years of economic embargo. The search for a peaceful solution to end the current crisis will in no way be hampered by the travel bans covered in the text we will be voting for. Bona fide diplomatic activities are authorized and do not, unlike other missions, require prior authorization of the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990).

The mechanism for lifting the sanctions is clearly spelt out: as soon as Iraq again complies with the Special Commission's right of access, sanctions will be lifted.

The Council's authority is maintained. The Council is still master of its judgements and future actions. That in particular is the thrust of paragraph 8. As was spelt out in the French-Russian joint declaration, we continue to advocate strongly that any action with regard to Iraq be considered and led strictly within the framework of the Security Council. The language of the draft for which we shall be voting has therefore been carefully weighed. It does not encourage or justify any escalation. In the coming days we must persevere in our active search for a diplomatic solution, and we must avoid any counter-productive attitude. We must bear in mind our basic goal: the continuation, under favourable conditions, of the work of the Special Commission on the ground. Nothing would be worse than to call into question the main strength of resolution 687 (1991) and United Nations relations with Iraq. The system of ongoing verification and monitoring cannot be suspended; the security of the region is at stake.

It is a good thing that the draft we will be voting on commands unanimity in the Council. For France, this was a very important condition, since we must in crisis situations maintain the unity of the Council. This consensus lends more weight and force to the message to be sent to Baghdad. The clear will of the authors of the draft resolution to take into account the views of all States members of the Council was decisive in this respect, and should be commended.

We still hope that this message will be heeded. We reiterate the urgent appeal we have constantly addressed to the Iraqi authorities for reason to prevail, urging them to rescind their decision and refrain from any action incompatible with Security Council resolutions.

Then, and only then, will it be possible to discuss their concerns regarding the working methods of the Special Commission and the manner in which it discharges its responsibilities. Then, and only then, can discussions be undertaken in a positive climate to explore prospects for resolving the crisis and to take into account the significant progress that has been made on the substance, notably in the nuclear and ballistic areas.

Only complete and effective cooperation with the Special Commission will make it possible to implement paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991) regarding the lifting of the embargo and to ensure the reintegration of Iraq into the international community. The Iraqi population is not responsible for the current situation, but it is suffering terribly. It is worth recalling the figures that appear in the United Nations Development Programme's annual *Human Development Report*. Over the past seven years, the average calorie intake has fallen by a third, infant mortality has increased by 124 per cent, and life expectancy has dropped from 65 to 57 years.

The exorbitant price paid by the Iraqi population cannot go on rising indefinitely, amidst general indifference. Only compliance by Iraq with its international obligations can put an end to this situation.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): My delegation finds it most unfortunate that the Council has to meet again today to deal with the issue at hand less than a month after the adoption of resolution 1134 (1997) on 23 October and the presidential statement of 29 October, following the Iraqi decision to seek to impose conditions on its cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). In the view of my delegation, it is particularly regrettable that another window of opportunity — provided by the Secretary-General through the dispatch of his three-envoy mission to Baghdad last week — was missed by Iraq as well.

The Republic of Korea has consistently hoped that Iraq, a country with a long history and old civilization, should be allowed to rejoin the international community as a normal and responsible member at an early date, so that the humanitarian sufferings of the Iraqi people could be brought to an end and Iraq could make its due share of contributions to world peace and prosperity. As we all know, the fundamental condition for normalizing Iraq's relationship with the international community through the lifting of sanctions lies in the faithful implementation of relevant Council resolutions by Iraq.

In that regard, although the latest report of UNSCOM noted some positive progress in the missile and nuclear areas, there still remain some ambiguities in other areas, including the biological area. Furthermore, by seeking to impose certain conditions on the manner UNSCOM discharges its responsibilities under relevant Council resolutions, Iraq has regrettably narrowed the path toward the normalization of its relationship with the international community.

Under these circumstances, my delegation demands that Iraq cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNSCOM, in accordance with the relevant resolutions, so that UNSCOM can, in turn, inform the Council of Iraq's full implementation of its obligations under the relevant Council resolutions as early as possible.

Although the draft resolution before the Council contains certain additional measures, such as travel restrictions, we rather wish to draw attention to paragraphs 6 and 7, which clearly delineate the exit out of the present deadlock. In a nutshell, my delegation strongly hopes that this draft resolution will be able to convey the unambiguous and united message of the Security Council to Iraq that it must rescind its decision of 29 October and cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNSCOM. This was the very same message that our esteemed Secretary-General tried to deliver to the Iraqi leader through his own intervention.

For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1997/872. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 1137 (1997).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Richardson (United States of America): The Security Council has taken a very important action today in passing — unanimously — this resolution. This is the unambiguous message to the leaders of Iraq: the Security Council is united in its determination that Iraq must comply with the resolutions of the Council and that Iraq must reverse its decisions challenging the Council and the international community. It is not for Iraq to set the terms of its compliance; Iraq must simply comply. And, as this resolution demonstrates, there will be consequences for Iraq if it fails to do so.

Iraq's course of action must now be clear: to announce the reversal of its unacceptable decisions and pledge its full, immediate and unconditional compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Sadly, Iraq has been following a different path. The Deputy Prime Minister, since arriving in New York, has insisted that his primary goal is to get the sanctions on Iraq lifted. But he has learned today that the lifting of

sanctions must follow compliance, and not precede it. And he asserts that it is the sanctions, not Iraq, that are wrong. Iraq does not seem to understand that its objective can only be reached through full compliance.

Let us not forget that, after years of trying every trick to deceive the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) inspectors, on 29 October Iraq sought to bar UNSCOM inspectors with American citizenship, out of the more than 20 nations represented in the organization. Then it blocked UNSCOM inspections, interfered with monitoring operations, and menaced UNSCOM reconnaissance aircraft. All of these actions are gross violations of Iraq's obligations under Security Council resolutions. And, as this resolution states, threaten international peace and security.

Iraq has failed in other areas mandated by the Council and it has given no sign that it will cease activities and policies intended to threaten its neighbours. Indeed, it gives every indication that it intends to continue to develop a dangerous arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. Which is what this is all about.

In 37 previous reviews of Iraq sanctions, the Security Council has concluded that Iraq has not met the simple conditions for lifting sanctions. The current crisis is not just more of the same at a higher volume. It is a violation of the United Nations Charter itself, as well as a categorical rejection of Council resolutions. And, in response, the Council has imposed the first new sanctions on Iraq since the Gulf War.

Because Iraq's obstructionist actions have been taken under orders of the highest authorities in Baghdad, the new sanctions target only Iraq's leaders, not its people. The Deputy Prime Minister arrived this week to lobby delegations that Iraq is too impoverished to face continued sanctions. The Council enacted resolutions 986 (1995) and 1111 (1997) to protect the Iraqi people from the Iraqi Government's insistence on guns instead of butter. The Iraqi regime waited a year before accepting the resolution and ever since has tried to manipulate its implementation. In September, the Council had to adopt resolution 1129 (1997) to make up for Iraq's refusal to sell oil under this programme.

The United States feels, just as does every member of this body, compassion for the Iraqi people and empathy for their plight. That is why the United Nations and the Sanctions Committee have gone to great lengths, battling Iraqi obstructionism at every step, to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance. That is why, thanks to the Sanctions Committee's efforts, implementation of resolution 1111 (1997) is moving forward. And that is why we are prepared to examine ways to further improve the delivery and effectiveness of humanitarian aid in the interest of the people of Iraq.

The United States looks forward to the day when the sanctions against Iraq can be lifted. It is not our desire to see Iraq, a land of past greatness which could be great again, permanently saddled with United Nations sanctions. But Iraq must first comply fully and unconditionally with the requirements of relevant Security Council resolutions. Iraq has known this all along. There is a light at the end of the tunnel and the Iraqi leaders control the switch.

Today we are here to get Iraq to reverse its decision to challenge UNSCOM. Neither the Secretary-General, nor his envoys nor the Security Council has been willing to negotiate Iraqi compliance with Council resolutions. Today's resolution marks our determination to continue to proceed together on a firm and united course. Iraq should heed today's message. Iraq must abandon its hope to escape its obligations through deception or defiance.

Today's resolution is a clear call for Iraqi compliance and a reaffirmation that the Council is willing to use the tools of the United Nations Charter to ensure compliance. Iraq should get that message.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): I would like first of all to read out a statement just made by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Robin Cook.

> "Today, the United Nations has responded to Saddam Hussein's provocation swiftly, strongly and unanimously. We have met his defiance with a tightening of sanctions. I hope Saddam will now return to his senses and let UNSCOM resume its work. If he does, and Iraq then complies with all the relevant United Nations resolutions, the process for lifting sanctions can be started. But as the resolution just passed has made clear, if he continues to defy the will of the United Nations, further measures will be taken. Saddam Hussein should be in no doubt that the Security Council is united and determined."

My Government is glad that the Council has unanimously delivered an unequivocal message to Iraq. There is no short cut to the lifting of sanctions. The

international community is determined that Iraq should comply fully with the Council's resolutions.

We are meeting today in the face of the latest and most serious challenge which we have faced from Saddam Hussein since the end of the Gulf War. At stake is the future of the Special Commission (UNSCOM), the body charged by the international community to rid Iraq of its illegal weapons of mass destruction. This body was established in resolution 687 (1991), whose acceptance by Iraq brought an end to the Gulf War. The Government of Iraq, through its unacceptable decision of 29 October, has tried to dictate to the United Nations the terms and conditions of how the Special Commission fulfils its mandate. All such conditions are totally unacceptable to my Government.

The successful completion of the work of the Special Commission is essential for maintaining regional and international peace and security. The latest report of the Special Commission makes clear that there is still much work to be done, especially in the chemical and biological weapons areas, before it can report that it has accomplished its task and the world is free from the threat posed by Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. It is therefore crucial that it be able to continue its work, without restrictions or conditions. We want UNSCOM to complete its task.

We welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General and the efforts of others to persuade Iraq to reverse its decision of 29 October. We agreed to go the extra mile in the hope that Saddam Hussein would listen to reason. The Iraqi response was a flat "no" to the Secretary-General, his representatives and the Security Council. The Council has now acted unanimously to send a clear message to the Government of Iraq that it must comply fully and unconditionally with all relevant resolutions.

We have heard a lot of special pleading from Iraq on the damage caused by six and a half years of sanctions. I will not repeat the steps which we and other Governments have taken to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people. We will continue to see that resolutions 986 (1995) and 1111 (1997) are implemented as intended. But what we would ask Mr. Tariq Aziz: For whose purposes did Iraq invade Kuwait? For whose purposes did it unleash its weapons on its own people? For whose purposes has Iraq continued to obstruct the efforts of the Special Commission to draw an end to its investigation and destruction of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction?

It is clear that the humanitarian interests of the Iraqi people and their welfare have been subordinated to the misguided policies of the leadership and that it is these policies which are the fundamental problem. We therefore welcome the Council's endorsement today of the simple message that the only route to normalization for Iraq lies through the implementation of the Council's resolutions and that the Council will remain fully determined to achieve this.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council has again been compelled to return to the consideration of the question of Iraq as a result of Baghdad's decision to introduce restrictions on the work of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), including prohibitions on the participation of American citizens in the work of its inspection teams and on flights of the Special Commission's U-2 aircraft.

We have consistently sought Iraq's full compliance with its obligations under the pertinent Security Council resolutions and we support the efforts made by the Special Commission to that end. The decision by Baghdad to place restrictions on the work of the Special Commission runs counter to the resolutions of the Security Council, the principles of the United Nations and the obligations of Iraq, and should be rescinded unconditionally.

Throughout recent days Russia has been working intensively in coordination with a number of other countries in order to de-escalate the situation around Iraq. Unfortunately, our diplomatic efforts — including those made in Baghdad and New York over the last 24 hours — were ineffective. Nor did the mission that was sent to Iraq by the Secretary-General of the United Nations with the support of the members of the Security Council achieve the desired result.

In this situation the Security Council has no other way out than to adopt concrete measures on the basis of the consensus already established in June this year in Security Council resolution 1115 (1997), which was confirmed today in the resolution we have just adopted.

However, we are convinced that any complications that arise, including the current complication, should be resolved exclusively by political means and strictly within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Any other approaches, particularly actions involving force or the threat of the use of force, could

nullify all our achievements so far in reaching a post-crisis settlement in the Persian Gulf and take us all a long way back from the goal, already coming within our reach, of eliminating the threat to peace and security in that region.

This consistent position was clearly set forth in the recent joint statements at the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Russia and France, and also during the Russia-China summit. This position is reflected in the resolution that has just been unanimously adopted by the Security Council.

The resolution puts into effect limited, well-adjusted measures to restrict foreign travel by Iraqi officials, the list of which will be further determined. Here, the restrictions automatically exempt all travel involving the discharge of diplomatic functions. The resolution is aimed not at punishing Iraq but at ensuring Baghdad's immediate return to unconditional cooperation with the Special Commission. All the humanitarian shipments to Iraq will continue. The resolution rules out the possibility of using the authority of the Security Council and the United Nations to justify any attempts to use force.

We sincerely hope that the resolution will be properly understood by the Iraqi leadership and that it will resume constructive interaction with the Special Commission. This will lead to the automatic rescission of the restrictions imposed on foreign travel. But the main thing is that it will open the way for the logical closure of the disarmament dossier in keeping with resolution 687 (1991), the lifting of sanctions and the easing of the plight of the Iraqi people. The members of the Security Council are acutely concerned about this. It is up to Iraq.

The resumption of the work of the Special Commission in Iraq at full capacity will make it possible specifically to look at ways to speed up its work in strict compliance with its mandate, so that this work can be carried out without artificial delays and the Security Council can objectively assess the progress made. Here the Council cannot and should not abdicate its responsibility for the full compliance of all of its disarmament resolutions on Iraq.

Russia is firmly convinced that Iraq should see the "light at the end of the tunnel", and if the switch is in the hands of the Iraqi Government then at least some electric current should pass along the wires.

The Council recently considered the comprehensive joint reports submitted by the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on the significant work they have done to clarify the remaining blanks. The many inspections have confirmed that Iraq has no proscribed activities going on involving nuclear weapons, and the facilities and dual-use equipment are being reliably monitored. In this connection, the nuclear dossier can be deemed to be closed. The balance sheet is virtually completed on proscribed missiles. All capacity and components for the production of chemical weapons have been eliminated.

Such serious results cannot pass by without adequate evaluation by the Security Council. We intend to revert to this question immediately after the current crisis situation around Iraq has been resolved.

We again call upon Baghdad to resume its unconditional cooperation with the Special Commission. We are convinced that this would conform to the vital interests of Iraq and its people and to the goal of integrating Iraq into the international community insofar as it complies with the decisions of the Security Council.

The President *(interpretation from Chinese)*: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of China.

China is very much concerned about current developments on the question of Iraq. We support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and the parties concerned for a proper solution to this problem. We have all along supported the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) in the performance of its inspections as mandated by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. In our view, the resolutions of the Security Council on Iraq should be implemented comprehensively and in earnest. China has made constructive efforts in this regard and has time and again called upon Iraq to resume its cooperation with the United Nations as soon as possible and to fully carry out its relevant obligations.

At the same time, we have always been of the view that Iraq's sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate concerns for its own security should be respected. The progress achieved by Iraq in the past few years in its cooperation with UNSCOM should receive an objective and fair assessment.

In our view, three feet of ice could not have been accumulated as a result of just one day's cold weather. The causes of the current crisis are multifaceted and

complex. The Security Council should hear the views of UNSCOM and Iraq on the question of inspections in order to make a fair and reasonable judgement on progress achieved in inspections. Problems that have come up in the course of inspections should be appropriately settled through dialogue and cooperation. We are opposed to the use or the threat of force or any actions that might further exacerbate tensions. We hope that the parties concerned will exercise restraint and find a proper solution to the problem through cooperation and dialogue and avoid the escalation of tensions. In particular, the occurrence of armed conflict must be avoided.

In our view, in order to achieve a solution to the problems, the most urgent task is to persevere in diplomatic efforts, to promote cooperation between Iraq and the Special Commission and not to complicate further the problem and increase the difficulty of resolving them.

We hope that resolution 1137 (1997) will be conducive to promoting an appropriate settlement of the problems. Therefore, with a view to advancing a proper solution to this question, we voted in favour of the resolution. At the same time, I also wish to point out that our vote in favour of the resolution does not imply any change in our position on the question of sanctions.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 2.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3832

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3832nd Meeting

Thursday, 13 November 1997, 11.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Berrocal Soto
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Japan	Mr. Owada
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Richardson

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

97-86521 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1997/888, letter dated 13 November 1997 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1997/883, letter dated 13 November 1997 from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission established by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 9 (b) (i) of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council condemns in the strongest terms the unacceptable decision of the Government of Iraq in expelling personnel of the Special Commission of a specified nationality and thereby imposing conditions on the Special Commission in contravention of relevant Security Council resolutions which constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance.
>
> "The Security Council demands the immediate and unequivocal revocation of this action, which has prevented the Special Commission from discharging its responsibilities under the relevant resolutions. The Council recalls the statement of its President of 29 October 1997 in which the Council warned of the serious consequences of Iraq's failure to comply immediately and fully and without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under the relevant resolutions. The Council further demands, in accordance with its resolution 1137 (1997), that Iraq comply immediately and fully with its obligations under the relevant resolutions.
>
> "The Security Council expresses its support for the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and stresses the importance of their ensuring the implementation of all aspects of their mandates, including their vital work in monitoring and verification in Iraq, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Council.
>
> "The Security Council stresses that the Government of Iraq has full responsibility for ensuring the safety and security of the personnel and equipment of the Special Commission and the IAEA and their inspection teams."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1997/51.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3833

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3833rd Meeting
Friday, 14 November 1997, 11.55 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Sweden	Mr. Dahlgren
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Richardson

Agenda

The situation in Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan (S/1997/859)

97-86533 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan (S/1997/859)

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Tajikistan to the United Nations, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Alimov (Tajikistan) took a seat at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Chinese)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan, document S/1997/859. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1997/887, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1997/808, which contains the text of a letter dated 17 October 1997 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Tajikistan, on whom I now call.

Mr. Alimov (Tajikistan) *(interpretation from Russian)*: First allow me to convey our gratitude to you, Sir, for your handling of the work of the Security Council during November and wish you every success in discharging your important and highly responsible job.

Today the Security Council will be adopting an extremely important decision aimed at supporting the peace process in the Republic of Tajikistan. The Government of Tajikistan believes that international support will make it possible to cement the peace process, give it an additional impetus and dynamic, and make it more stable and irreversible.

Expanding the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) will definitely mark the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the practical implementation of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan. This decision is of exceptional value precisely at this time, when the Commission on National Reconciliation, which has demonstrated a high degree of tolerance and confirmed its spirit of constructive cooperation, has started the practical implementation of its programme of work in keeping with the tight timetable for implementing the General Agreement.

The vigorous efforts made by the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, Mr. Emomali Rakhmonov, together with the leadership of the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) to obtain wider support in the country for the peace agreement arrived at between them is already yielding real fruit.

The Agreement on a Ceasefire and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts concluded between the Government of Tajikistan and the UTO is, on the whole, being complied with effectively. In accordance with the Act on Mutual Forgiveness an exchange of prisoners of war and detainees has taken place.

Intensive planning work is being carried out to implement the Amnesty Law. At the individual level, in keeping with the relevant legislative procedures in the Republic, cases of previously convicted citizens or those under investigation are being reviewed, and the responsible State organs are making recommendations regarding amnesty on each one.

Work has started to prepare amendments and additions to the current Constitution of the country. Together with the Republic's experts and jurists, representatives of UNMOT, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are also involved.

The resolution of military questions is also entering an active phase. After 16 November armed formations which have not declared their loyalty and allegiance will be considered to be illegal and will be subject to compulsory disarmament. At the same time, it is important to note that the process of registration of UTO fighters inside Tajikistan, though not without difficulty, is nonetheless continuing. Questions of repatriation of UTO fighters from the territory of Afghanistan are in the course of resolution.

There has been substantial progress in the repatriation of Tajik refugees who are in northern Afghanistan. We are particularly gratified at the active repatriation of our compatriots from the Sakhi Camp in the Mazar-e-Sharif region by the shortest route through Termez.

There are serious reasons to hope that with the active assistance of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the assistance of the Government of Uzbekistan, the absolute majority of Tajik refugees who through a stroke of fate had long found themselves on the other side of the Panj and the Amu Darya Rivers will greet the 1998 new year in the circle of their families and friends on home soil in Tajikistan. They have been impatiently awaited in their homes, towns and villages where each returning family, particularly old people, women and children, is surrounded by warmth and attention and given as much assistance as possible from the authorities and State and private enterprises.

The regular meetings between the country's President, Emomali Rakhmonov, and the Chairman of the Commission on National Reconciliation and Leader of the UTO, Abdullo Nuri, have become an important factor for strengthening international confidence. They are actively stimulating the process of complying with the provisions of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan.

All this shows that Tajikistan is witnessing an actively developing process of consolidation of its society. The emerging new political reality in the Republic is allowing less and less space for the opponents of the peace process and obliging everyone to adapt to the new conditions.

Tajikistan realizes that the national reconciliation that has started is just the first, although a very important, step on the long path to the establishment of a civil society. It should be followed by another step — a much more difficult and lengthy process of national and State construction aimed at the organic integration of the country into today's mutually linked and mutually dependent world.

The Government of the Republic of Tajikistan understands that the main responsibility for the country's future lies on the shoulders of the Tajik people itself. Yet it is also true that our own efforts are clearly not enough, either to assist the least protected strata of the population in the near future to free themselves from the grip of poverty or, particularly, to restore the socio-economic infrastructure of the south of the country that has been destroyed by the war. The people of Tajikistan would be grateful to the international community if it could give us the assistance that it so sorely needs at this critically important stage.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for convening, on 24 and 25 November 1997, in Vienna, the capital of Austria, a donor conference to provide international support for peace and reconciliation in Tajikistan. It is expected that more than 120 delegations will attend the conference, representing Governments, international financial institutions and non-governmental organizations. The delegation of Tajikistan will take part in that conference, headed by the President of our country, Mr. Emomali Rakhmonov.

The results of the work of such a representative international forum are being awaited in Tajikistan with a high level of emotion. We hope that the participants in the conference, on behalf of their Governments and organizations, will come out in favour of substantial support for the Tajik people in consolidating the peace process. This will soon allow each country to join the post-conflict-building; to take part in strengthening the bases of an independent democratic State; to demonstrate their individuality in their work, irrespective of their own political, philosophical or religious views and ambitions; and to contribute to the development of the emerging new socio-economic and political relationships.

Support from the international community will help us not merely to stabilize Tajikistan's economy and to create favourable conditions for normal, stable development in the post-conflict period, but also to attain stability in Central Asia and beyond.

The war has left in its wake not only material destruction, which, for the foreseeable future, can be restored; but also deep mental wounds that will long make themselves felt in society as a whole and in each of its cells. The toxins of mutual distrust continue in some areas to poison the general atmosphere and to befuddle the minds of individuals in our country. Certain people, playing out outmoded scenarios, are trying to use

terrorism and bandit-like attacks to derail the peace process and to nudge it off the high road and onto slippery, twisting byways. However, the country's shift towards a comprehensive and just settlement of the conflict and the establishment of genuine civil peace and concord is irreversible. A grim page of the history of the ancient Tajik people has been turned forever.

It is a great honour for me, on behalf of President Emomali Rakhmonov of the Republic of Tajikistan, to express profound gratitude to the Secretary-General for his unflagging attention and support to the Tajik people in this difficult period for us. We express the hope that the United Nations and its specialized agencies will continue to make an important contribution to the consolidation of the country's stabilization process and that they will consistently and decisively help to restore Tajikistan's economy and social sphere in this post-conflict period.

My Government offers words of special gratitude to the Security Council for its constant attention to the situation in Tajikistan and on the Tajik-Afghan border. Resolutions of the Security Council and statements of its Presidents have had a decisive impact on resolving the inter-Tajik conflict by stressing the main responsibility of the Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, pursuant to the United Nations Charter. The Council's authority has been enhanced by the individual efforts of a number of members who have sought to move the peace process in Tajikistan forward.

The Government and people of Tajikistan are sincerely grateful to the Russian Federation and the Islamic Republic of Iran, which have played an exceptionally important role in promoting and successfully concluding the inter-Tajik talks, and for their having provided substantial assistance in the post-conflict period. We highly commend the very valuable political contribution made in implementing the General Agreement by States and international organizations members of the Contact Group of guarantors.

The Tajik Government commends the work done by the international humanitarian and non-governmental organizations, which have successfully supplemented the noble efforts of the United Nations in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs of the most vulnerable people, particularly in regions to which refugees from Afghanistan have been returning, and in carrying out the large-scale programme financed by the United Nations Development Programme for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of Tajikistan.

The Government of Tajikistan expresses profound gratitude to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Merrem, for his invaluable contribution to resolving the inter-Tajik conflict. We hope that he, together with his associates in the United Nations mission in Tajikistan, will continue to fulfil their difficult and often dangerous duties.

We take very seriously our commitments to the host country agreement and are profoundly mindful of our responsibility for the security of United Nations personnel. Our Government, together with the United Tajik Opposition, has begun to develop a joint guard unit, which will be established upon decree of the President. We hope that this unit will discharge its responsible mission and set an example for others in the reintegration process. Also important in this context is the decision of the Commonwealth of Independent States to extend and expand the mandate of its collective peacekeeping force in Tajikistan, whose job at this stage will include the provision, as and when necessary, of assistance in ensuring the safety of the personnel of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international organizations.

We express the hope that joint efforts will be successful and effective and that international personnel will receive from the Tajik people adequate support and hospitality, and will thus be able vigorously and fully to discharge the broad range of responsible and important tasks included in the updated UNMOT mandate.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Tajikistan for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The adoption of today's draft resolution by the Security Council is an extraordinary event. The draft resolution expresses the collective will of the

Council's members to support the peace process being stepped up in Tajikistan.

Russia welcomes the progress noted in the Secretary-General's report in implementing the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan, as well as the constructive cooperation of the Government and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) in discharging their obligations under the agreements. This shows that the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations and the entire international community have not been in vain and that the tiny seedlings of peace are putting down roots, albeit with difficulty, in the war-torn soil of Tajikistan.

The signing of the General Agreement and the start of the work of the Commission on National Reconciliation open prospects for overcoming the political and military confrontation and for the achievement of peace and national reconciliation in that country. It is important that the Security Council has achieved agreement on the need to help to consolidate this trend and to show solidarity with the Tajik people, which so sorely needs general emergency assistance.

Russia commends the work done by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gerd Merrem, and the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). We are satisfied by the deepening cooperation between UNMOT and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan.

The return of Tajikistan to a peaceful life is a new task for UNMOT. This determined the recommendations of the Secretary-General on expanding the mandate and increasing the size of the Mission, which the Security Council is prepared to endorse.

Serious attention continues to need to be given to providing security for UNMOT personnel. We welcome the creation of the joint unit of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition, which has just been referred to by the Permanent Representative of Tajikistan. This step has major political significance, apart from its military importance. In the event of specific requests from UNMOT, then, with the agreement of the parties, the collective peacekeeping forces of the CIS are prepared to assist.

The mandate of the force, which was recently extended to 31 December, officially established this function. In accordance with the request of the Tajik side, made to the President of Russia as the Chairman of the Council of Heads of State of the CIS, the collective peacekeeping forces of the CIS are also prepared to provide assistance in discharging the inter-Tajik agreements, particularly in the military area.

Repatriation of refugees, reintegration of recent participants in hostilities and other tasks included in the General Agreement place an additional burden on the war-torn economy of Tajikistan. Within the framework of international donor efforts, Russia is considering the possibility of giving assistance — in addition to the significant bilateral humanitarian, financial, economic and other assistance already given to Tajikistan — to implement specific programmes and projects to ease the consequences of war and restore the country's national economy. Coordinating the international efforts in this area is the job of the Vienna international donor conference in support of the peace process in Tajikistan.

The establishment of stable peace and national reconciliation in Tajikistan is important for the Central Asian region and beyond. It will help the efforts of the international community to combat the drugs trade, terrorism and arms smuggling. Russia — together with the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the members of the Contact Group of guarantors — intends to actively assist compliance with all the provisions of the General Agreement, in the interests of the restoration and democratic development of Tajikistan and the prosperity of its people.

I hope that the draft resolution will be adopted unanimously.

Mr. Richardson (United States of America): The United States is pleased to join in adopting this draft resolution expanding the size and mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT), in recognition of the commitment the parties have made to national reconciliation and reconstruction in Tajikistan. We especially commend their actions to enact an amnesty law, exchange prisoners, repatriate refugees and begin the demobilization of military forces. There is still much to be done, including working out the details for an equitable sharing of power, and we wish them success in the coming months as they implement fully the provisions of the General Agreement.

The parties' inclusion in the General Agreement of an increased role for UNMOT in the peace process is a clear statement of the confidence they place in Gerd Merrem, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and in the personnel of UNMOT, whose performance under trying circumstances has been exemplary. We support the expansion of UNMOT at this critical time in the peace process so that the parties can demobilize rapidly and turn their efforts towards rebuilding Tajikistan. We can now look forward to the day when United Nations peacekeepers can depart and all United Nations involvement in Tajikistan can be reoriented towards reconstruction and development.

The road ahead will be difficult. This is especially true because of the proliferation of armed groups beyond the control of the parties that threaten the security and tranquillity of Tajikistan.

We are concerned for the security of the unarmed UNMOT observers. The United States therefore appreciates the agreement by the parties to establish a joint unit to protect UNMOT personnel. We consider this a bold response to a troublesome problem that will serve as a model for future cooperation between the parties as they integrate other elements of their armed forces.

The problems facing the peace process in Tajikistan are daunting, even more so because the war depleted the resources Tajikistan will need to fulfil all the provisions of the General Agreement. In view of this, the United States endorses the Secretary-General's proposal to hold a donor conference in Vienna on 24 to 25 November. We note that the Secretary-General is appealing for $65 million specifically aimed at ensuring the success of the peace process. The United States intends to contribute to this effort, and urges all States to donate generously.

I note that the transit of Tajik refugees through Uzbekistan has begun, and I want to thank the President and Government of Uzbekistan for their assistance in this critical humanitarian effort.

We understand that, in addition to this appeal for peace and reconciliation activities, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs plans to issue an appeal for emergency humanitarian assistance. We support this effort. Finally, we ask all States to join us in supporting the demining effort in Tajikistan so that future generations will not continue to suffer death and maiming from devices left behind from the war.

The resolution of the conflict in Tajikistan has been a quiet but important United Nations success story. Only a year ago the sides were hopelessly deadlocked, caught in a downward spiral of ceasefire violations and refusing to deal with the core issues. Although Tajikistan is not out of the woods yet, we can take strength from the progress it has made in the last year as we challenge other parties in other conflicts to take risks for peace.

Mr. Konishi (Japan): At the outset, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to Mr. Merrem, Special Representative of the Secretary-General; Brigadier-General Izydorczyk, Chief Military Observer; and all the men and women serving with the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). It is thanks to their dedicated efforts on the ground that the concrete process of implementing the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan has recently begun.

Japan finds it encouraging that both the Government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) are maintaining the ceasefire and making serious efforts to carry out their commitments under the General Agreement, including actions with regard to the Commission on National Reconciliation (CNR).

Given this positive development of the situation, I strongly believe that the international community should strengthen its assistance to the parties in their efforts to establish lasting peace. In this context, the Government of Japan fully supports the Security Council draft resolution (S/1997/887), which extends the mandate of UNMOT with increased strength, as recommended by the Secretary-General.

At the same time, we cannot but be concerned about the security situation on the ground, especially in the central part of the country, due to various violent actions of armed groups. Improving the security situation is a prerequisite for further efficient activities not only by UNMOT but also by the peacekeeping forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other international organizations. My delegation thus welcomes the recent agreement on the formation by the Government of Tajikistan and the UTO of a joint security unit to enhance the safety of UNMOT personnel, and hopes that this unit will be established without delay.

Finally, I am pleased to confirm that the Government of Japan has already made substantial contributions to the welfare of the people of Tajikistan in the form of humanitarian, refugee and technical assistance. It will continue such efforts, including the possible dispatch of civilian personnel to the strengthened UNMOT, thereby joining the international endeavour to facilitate the peace process in Tajikistan.

Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden): The United Nations has been closely involved in the negotiations towards peace in Tajikistan. The United Nations and the international community should now demonstrate their endurance as well as their support for the next crucial phase of consolidating peace in that country. The Government of Sweden therefore supports an expanded mandate for the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) as well as an increase in the size of the Mission.

We welcome the integrated approach taken by the Secretary-General in recommending enlarged responsibilities for the United Nations in Tajikistan. In assisting the parties to implement the inter-Tajik agreements, the United Nations will be making a broad contribution ranging from the political and military fields to the coordination of international humanitarian assistance and the reintegration of refugees. This, we feel, is a good example of how the joint capacity of the whole United Nations system can be used to support the peace process and lay the groundwork for the post-conflict reconstruction and long-term recovery of war-torn societies.

Implementing peace agreements is rarely a smooth process. It requires considerable good faith and constant efforts by the parties. In Tajikistan, progress has been achieved in a number of areas. Sweden welcomes the fact that both the Tajik Government and the United Tajik Opposition appear determined to pursue this process in a cooperative spirit.

The level of violence, in particular in the central part of the country, still gives rise to concern. In order for UNMOT to carry out its mandate, its safety and its ability to perform its tasks unhindered must be guaranteed. As we continue to follow closely events in Tajikistan, the safety of international personnel will continue to require our particular attention.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The problems of Tajikistan are overdue for a solution. We are encouraged by the progress which has been reported by the Secretary-General in the implementation of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan. We consider that the exchange of prisoners of war and the process for the return of refugees are particularly important and urgent items.

We commend the parties in Tajikistan for their commitment to the peace process and urge them to continue to cooperate with each other and with the United Nations to ensure rapid progress on what is an ambitious timetable.

My delegation also commends the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who has been working in extremely difficult circumstances.

The draft resolution before us underlines the international community's commitment to helping the people of Tajikistan towards the rehabilitation of their country. But the principal responsibility for this, of course, lies with the Tajik parties themselves.

Although we accept the Secretary-General's recommendations for an expansion of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and will vote in favour of this draft resolution, we remain concerned about the security situation in Tajikistan. The formation of the joint security unit is a welcome and necessary step, but we shall need to follow closely developments which might affect the security and safety of UNMOT personnel and their ability to carry out their mandate effectively.

My delegation would also like to welcome the Secretary-General's initiative in holding a donor conference in Vienna in two weeks' time. The United Kingdom will be represented at that conference.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): The Tajik parties are engaged in a process of national reconciliation. This is a long and difficult undertaking, but the Government and the opposition alike are increasingly demonstrating their readiness to cooperate. We welcome in particular the intention stated by the two parties to establish a joint security unit to provide security mainly in the central part of the country, which remains the most exposed area.

The French delegation is fully aware that the security situation in Tajikistan remains precarious. That is why we attach great importance to the measures the Secretary-General will be taking to provide, as far as possible, for the protection of the personnel of the United

Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and of the international organizations in the field.

We are, however, convinced that the United Nations should now help the Tajiks restore peace to their country and rebuild it. The maintenance of international peace and security has never been risk-free; the United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities, because a lack of support from the Organization could hamper the rapid and complete implementation of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan.

It is in that spirit that France supports the expansion of the mandate of UNMOT.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): The inter-Tajik peace process has come a long way in recent months. The signing of the Moscow General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan last June was a turning point in the bumpy road to peace. Despite occasional incidents of hostage-taking and terrorist attacks by disgruntled armed groups here and there, the process of national reconciliation is beginning to take firm root. The convening of the Commission on National Reconciliation, the exchange of prisoners of war and detainees between the Tajik Government and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), the registration of UTO fighters inside Tajikistan and the process of the repatriation of refugees from Afghanistan are all encouraging developments that testify to the firm commitment of the Tajik parties to the success of the process of peace and national reconciliation.

We pay tribute to President Rakhmonov and to the UTO leader, Mr. Nuri, for their courage and wisdom in coming to terms with each other in the broader interests of the nation. We sincerely hope that their commitment to peace and political goodwill will soon be translated into benefits of peace for the Tajik people. We express our appreciation to the Russian Federation and to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Merrem, for their successful mediation efforts. We also commend the personnel of UNMOT for their dedicated service under difficult and often dangerous circumstances.

Needless to say, and like anywhere else, a climate of security is essential to the monitoring by the United Nations of peace in Tajikistan. In this connection, we welcome the decision of the Tajik parties to form a joint security unit with a view to providing necessary security to UNMOT. We believe that this arrangement, together with the protection to be provided by peacekeepers from the Commonwealth of Independent States, will now make possible the strengthening and expansion of the mandate of UNMOT to meet its responsibilities of monitoring the peace agreements.

We believe that the commitment of the Tajik parties to peace and national reconciliation also deserves the financial support of the international community. In this regard, we welcome the Secretary-General's initiative to convene an international donor conference at Vienna later this month. The Republic of Korea will participate in this conference.

Korea attaches great importance to the success of the inter-Tajik peace process. We believe that peace in Tajikistan is vital for the peace and stability of the entire Central Asian region, which is inhabited by nearly 300,000 ethnic Koreans. My Government is encouraging our business community to actively participate in the reconstruction of the Tajik economy. We are also ready to contribute military observers to the expanded UNMOT.

In conclusion, the Republic of Korea believes that the efforts of the Tajik parties themselves to make peace deserve the full support of the international community. We therefore support the extension of the mandate of UNMOT and its expansion, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report of 4 September 1997, and we will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): According to the latest report of the Secretary-General, there has been progress in the implementation of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan. This is welcome news. It is particularly important to note that the Commission on National Reconciliation, on which both the Government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) are represented, has now been convened on Tajik soil and has begun its work in earnest.

Other important steps have been taken, which have de-escalated tensions and allowed the return of refugees. There is no substitute for commitment and hard work by the parties to make peace. We encourage both the Government and the UTO actively to continue their efforts to implement fully the General Agreement.

I was particularly happy to hear the representative of Tajikistan state here today that genuine civil peace and concord is irreversible.

The international community — in particular, the United Nations — has been on hand to help the parties reach this stage and will continue to do so by offering its assistance towards implementing and consolidating peace in Tajikistan.

The Security Council today extends the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan for six months and authorizes an increase in its strength, as recommended by the Secretary-General, in order to carry out the tasks attributed to that United Nations mission. Like others, however, we remain concerned that the security situation is not yet under control, thereby threatening UNMOT and other international personnel as they carry out their activities. We stress that it is the responsibility of the parties to ensure that unarmed United Nations personnel are not put in harm's way, especially when they are striving to help the Tajik people. In this context, we welcome the agreement to form a joint Government/UTO security unit to escort and protect UNMOT, and we urge its rapid establishment.

Also important in this regard is the decision by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to authorize its peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan to provide security to the United Nations on request. While it is the responsibility of the parties to ensure the safety and security of United Nations personnel in Tajikistan, this decision by the CIS provides an important back-up for their protection.

The CIS peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission, and the States and organizations in the Contact Group have played a crucial role in the international efforts to help peace gain a foothold in Tajikistan. We would like to add our voice to the tributes paid to Mr. Gerd Merrem, and to the men and women of UNMOT and of the United Nations agencies and programmes who are working in Tajikistan under such perilous conditions.

Portugal is pleased to join the consensus in adopting the draft resolution.

Mr. Larraín (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would like to begin by expressing gratitude for the further report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan.

Since we last considered the situation in Tajikistan, there has been significant progress in the implementation of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord. The parties have shown definite signs of being determined to make the peace progress succeed, a fact that deserves our full recognition. In this transitional period they must persevere in good-faith fulfilment of the peace agreements, in particular the ceasefire agreement.

We must place on record our concern that, in spite of the significant progress in the political field, acts of violence are still taking place in the country, affecting the security situation and endangering the personnel of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). The creation of a joint Government-Opposition security unit is a step in the right direction in order to safeguard the security of UNMOT personnel. We hope that the unit will become operational as soon as possible, thus permitting UNMOT's mandate to be implemented free from danger or interference.

The draft resolution that we are about to vote on follows the Secretary-General's recommendation to expand the UNMOT's mandate with a view to stepping up the Mission's participation in promoting peace and national reconciliation in Tajikistan. My delegation supports this strengthened role for UNMOT. We believe that the extension of its mandate until 15 May 1998 sends a clear signal of the commitment of the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, to ensuring stability in this part of Central Asia.

We would also like to thank the delegation of the Russian Federation for preparing the draft resolution which served as a basis for the one that we are about to adopt.

In my delegation's view, responsibility for the success of the peace process must be borne chiefly by the parties. We therefore hope that they will continue to cooperate actively with the efforts being carried out by the United Nations through its Mission.

In conclusion, I would like to express my delegation's recognition of and support for the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gerd Merrem, and his team. We urge him to continue working to ensure the success of the peace process in Tajikistan.

Mr. Sáenz Biolley (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is taking the floor in this meeting on Tajikistan in order to reaffirm our resolute

support for the peace and reconciliation process in that country.

Amidst the difficulties that we have experienced in recent days on other issues, we feel that this occasion demonstrates the usefulness and value of dialogue and political negotiation as appropriate instruments of diplomacy for resolving conflicts that affect, or may affect, international peace and security.

It is clear that significant progress has been made by the Tajik parties in executing the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord and in maintaining the ceasefire. The active international presence has contributed to this progress. Here we would emphasize the admirable activities of the United Nations Mission, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Commonwealth of Independent States peacekeeping forces.

While bearing in mind the progress that has been made and the need to build on it, we should not ignore the fact that there are still difficulties which make it necessary for us to keep paying attention to the situation through the United Nations presence in Tajikistan.

Costa Rica supports the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) for an additional six months as well as the increase in its personnel, and we agree that the Mission should, at this new stage, use its best efforts to assist in the implementation of the General Agreement, which will be fundamental and decisive with regard to certain political issues, as well as of key importance with regard to other vital questions, such as the investigation of ceasefire violations and the monitoring of the cantonment, reintegration, disarming and demobilization of United Tajik Opposition (UTO) combatants.

As on other occasions, my country would like to draw attention to the question of the Tajik refugees in northern Afghanistan. We welcome the developments in the return process. This demonstrates the readiness of the parties to comply with what has been agreed, and we are therefore confident that it will continue and be completed. That, of course, will require clear resolve by the parties and the continued humanitarian support of the international community. This in turn requires a clear determination by the parties to cooperate and to assume their fundamental role in implementing what has been agreed. This is of particular importance, among other things, when it comes to guaranteeing the safety and freedom of movement of international personnel.

At the same time, Costa Rica underscores the great value of the Secretary-General's intention to convene a donor conference to obtain the international support necessary for the implementation of the General Agreement. My country associates itself with all those who have encouraged Member States of the Organization, especially those that have links to and interests in Tajikistan, to make a decisive contribution so that the process of peace and reconciliation can reach a successful conclusion.

In conclusion, I should like to express my country's gratitude for the outstanding role played by the Russian Federation and the Islamic Republic of Iran in bringing peace to Tajikistan. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): We are here today to take an important decision concerning further United Nations support for the peace process in Tajikistan. Five years of civil war brought enormous human suffering to that country, but now, after the signature of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord on 27 June of this year, we look at the future of Tajikistan with more hope and optimism.

There has been certain visible progress on the difficult road towards peace and stability. The Secretary-General notes in his report the convening of the Commission on National Reconciliation, the exchange of prisoners of war and detainees, the registration of United Tajik Opposition fighters inside Tajikistan and the repatriation of refugees from Afghanistan. We share the Secretary-General's encouragement at the fact that the refugees have been received without hostility on their return.

The ceasefire is crucial to the successful conclusion of the peace process, and that is why we appeal to the parties to refrain from any violence, which continues to run high in the central part of the country.

We have no illusions about the seriousness of the conditions in which the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) will have to carry out its mandated tasks in the months to come. It is for that reason that we welcome the decision of President Rakhmonov and Mr. Nuri to form a joint security unit with the task of providing security to UNMOT personnel.

We believe that now, more than ever before, Tajikistan needs the international community and its firm

support. This is why we are in favour of the expansion of the size of UNMOT and the extension of its mandate. Our decision should serve the purpose of promoting peace and national reconciliation in Tajikistan.

I cannot conclude without paying tribute to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Tajikistan, Mr. Gerd Merrem, and all the UNMOT personnel who have served with devotion in carrying out their tasks in often difficult and dangerous conditions.

Mr. Mahugu (Kenya): Let me at the outset pay tribute to Mr. Gerd Merrem, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, for his outstanding work and leadership, and to the men and women serving with the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) for the manner in which they have performed their duties under difficult and often dangerous conditions.

My delegation finds the Secretary-General's latest report on Tajikistan encouraging. The ceasefire holds. There is concrete progress in the implementation of the General Agreement on political, legal and military issues. There are also solid steps forward in the rehabilitation effort, and the donor pledging conference scheduled to be held at Vienna in the next 11 days should generate resources for the critical post-conflict peace-building phase that my delegation has always viewed as critical in these situations.

We also strongly believe that the Commission on National Reconciliation is very important, and we commend its efforts and encourage it to continue with its good work.

The security situation, however, is still unsettled. We believe that the joint security unit will help. We hope that those elements in Tajikistan intent on using violence as a means of resolving their differences will reject that approach and work with other parties in rebuilding a peaceful Tajikistan. This is the only way in which a democratic, peaceful, economically viable Tajikistan can be built. UNMOT's critical role in ensuring the implementation of the General Agreement is commendable.

Finally, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation to expand UNMOT from 45 to 120 military observers and, in this regard, will support the draft resolution before us. We are happy to note that despite this expansion the cost is actually slightly less than the estimates previously proposed.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report on the evolution of the situation in Tajikistan. I should also like to express my thanks to his assistants, and in particular to his Special Representative, Mr. Gerd Merrem.

We welcome the serious efforts being made by the Government of Tajikistan, as well as those of the United Tajik Opposition, to fulfil the commitments entered into under the General Agreement. My delegation also welcomes the progress made in the activities undertaken by the Commission on National Reconciliation, and I would mention in particular the exchange of prisoners of war and detainees as well as the registration of members of the United Tajik Opposition who are present in Tajikistan and the repatriation of refugees from Afghanistan to their country.

In this regard, I should also like to express our concern at the explosive security situation in Tajikistan, especially in the central part of the State. In addition, there is a need to call upon both Tajik parties to cooperate further in ensuring the safety and freedom of movement of the personnel of the United Nations, the collective peacekeeping forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and other international personnel.

I should like, in this context, to express our appreciation for the agreement reached by the two parties regarding the creation of a joint security unit to carry out the task of providing security, including armed escorts, for the personnel of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). In this regard, Egypt hopes that the unit will begin functioning at the end of this month, as mentioned in the Secretary-General's report.

In conclusion, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution on expanding UNMOT, on the basis of the proposals of the Secretary-General in his report, and on the extension of its mandate until 15 May 1998.

Mr. Cabral (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council's consideration today of the situation in Tajikistan and along its frontier with Afghanistan gives us an ideal opportunity to welcome the progress that has been made towards peace — peace that in order to be lasting needs to be bolstered by specific action on the part of the protagonists. This is my delegation's view, as we understand it, and it is what the

Secretary-General is working towards in his efforts to support the quest for peace and to create conditions favourable to its consolidation.

In his successive reports of 4 September and 5 November, the Secretary-General has given us an appraisal of the status of the negotiations and of the headway made in the right direction, that is to say, the path towards peace through negotiation. We believe that it is desirable for the Tajik Government and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) to strive to ensure that this peace — which is still fragile — is bolstered through the establishment of the necessary structures. We refer in particular to consolidation of the ceasefire, the exchange of prisoners, and the creation of a climate conducive to the return of refugees in decent conditions.

My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the unflagging work being done by the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Iran, whose steadying and animating role should encourage us to emulate them so that the peace we all desire can emerge in Tajikistan. To this end, all members of the international community must rigorously commit themselves, since we have already declared our support for the territorial integrity of Tajikistan to be respected and the inviolability of its borders to become a reality.

Tajikistan has unfortunately become the object of many covetous eyes, and we hope that all the neighbouring countries of Tajikistan can work in concert with the rest of the international community to ensure that peace is the only item on the agenda in all the efforts that are made in that country and around it.

My delegation will try to ensure that what the Secretary-General has recommended becomes a reality, and it is with that in mind that we join the other members of the Council in adopting this draft resolution, which highlights the arguments put forward by the Secretary-General in favour of expanding the personnel of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and also authorizes the Secretary-General to extend UNMOT's mandate until 15 May 1998.

I take this opportunity to say that, in the view of my delegation, if peace in Tajikistan is to be lasting and permanent, all the parties must follow a policy of inclusion, working through dialogue, consultation and negotiation in order to ensure that all the men and women of that great country can work together and build a country that once again becomes the haven of peace they all seek.

In conclusion, I would also like to express the hope that every effort will be made by the Government of Tajikistan as well as by the UTO and the other parties that have not yet decided to join the UTO to provide security for UNMOT personnel, whose important role was recognized in the letter of 27 June 1997 from the President of the Republic of Tajikistan and Mr. Nuri to the Secretary-General.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of China.

As a neighbour of Tajikistan, China welcomes the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan, signed by the two parties in that country, and we are pleased by the stabilization of the overall situation in Tajikistan. We believe the General Agreement is conducive to moving the Tajik peace process forward, leading to the ultimate realization of national reconciliation in Tajikistan.

In his report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General recommends the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and UNMOT's expansion. We believe that this recommendation is in conformity with the wishes of the parties concerned and is conducive to the implementation of the General Agreement. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The peace in Tajikistan is hard won. We appreciate the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the countries of the region, such as the Russian Federation. We hope that the two parties concerned can implement the General Agreement in real earnest, adopt effective measures and cooperate with the United Nations so as to enable UNMOT to smoothly carry out its mandate.

At the same time, we believe that the international community should provide Tajikistan with urgently needed assistance to help its economic reconstruction.

We sincerely hope that, through the common efforts of the parties concerned, and with the vigorous help of the international community, Tajikistan can achieve sustained stability and economic development as soon as possible.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1997/887.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1138 (1997).

There are no more speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3834

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3834th Meeting

Friday, 14 November 1997, 1.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Llanos
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Teixeira
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Portugal	Mrs. Gomes
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Yung Woo Chun
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sergeev
	Sweden	Mr. Lidén
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Richardson

Agenda

The situation in Sierra Leone

97-86539 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Sierra Leone

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dabor (Sierra Leone) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1997/824, letter dated 28 October 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the texts of the communiqué and the six-month peace plan for Sierra Leone of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which were issued at the conclusion of the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Five with the delegation representing Major Johnny Paul Koromah, held at Conakry on 22 and 23 October 1997; and S/1997/886, letter dated 13 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council recalls its resolution 1132 (1997) of 8 October 1997 and the statements of its President of 27 May 1997 (S/PRST/1997/29), 11 July 1997 (S/PRST/1997/36) and 6 August 1997 (S/PRST/1997/42) in response to the military coup in Sierra Leone on 25 May 1997. It reiterates its condemnation of the overthrow of the democratically elected Government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, and its concern about the threat to peace, security and stability in the region which the situation in Sierra Leone continues to present.

"The Security Council expresses its full support and appreciation for the continued efforts of the Committee of Five on Sierra Leone of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to seek a peaceful settlement of the crisis and the restoration of the democratically elected Government and constitutional order. In this regard, it welcomes the peace plan agreed in Conakry on 23 October 1997 between the ECOWAS Committee and representatives of the junta as set out in the documents issued after the meeting (S/1997/824, annexes I and II). It also notes with satisfaction President Kabbah's acceptance of the peace plan in his statement of 5 November 1997 (S/1997/886).

"The Security Council calls upon the junta to fulfil its obligations under the peace plan, and in particular the ongoing maintenance of the ceasefire. It calls upon all parties concerned to work for the early and effective implementation of the peace plan, and encourages the ECOWAS Committee to cooperate closely with the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Sierra Leone.

"The Security Council takes note with appreciation of the briefing on the outcome of the meeting in Conakry on 23 October 1997 provided to its members in New York by representatives of the ECOWAS Committee on 11 November 1997. It expresses its readiness to consider how it can support the implementation of the peace plan, and looks forward to early recommendations from the Secretary-General on the role the United Nations could play to that end.

"The Security Council reiterates the need for the provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance in response to local needs, and calls upon the junta to ensure its safe delivery to its intended recipients. It urges all States and relevant international organizations to continue to assist those

countries dealing with the influx of refugees caused by the crisis in Sierra Leone.

"The Security Council reminds all States of their obligation to comply strictly with the embargo on the sale or supply of petroleum and petroleum products and arms and related *matériel* of all types to Sierra Leone, and with the other measures imposed by its resolution 1132 (1997)."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1997/52.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3835

Security Council
Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3835th Meeting
Friday, 21 November 1997, 1.25 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larrain
	Costa Rica	Mr. Sáenz Biolley
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Teixeira
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Da Rosa
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Matuszewski
	Portugal	Mr. Madureira
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Yung Woo Chun
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Sweden	Mr. Lidén
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/1997/884)

97-86563 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/1997/884)

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Security Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, document S/1997/884.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1997/904, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the voting on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1139 (1997).

In connection with the resolution just adopted on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, I have been authorized to make the following complementary statement on behalf of the Security Council:

"As is known, the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/1997/884) states in paragraph 9:

'Despite the present quiet in the Israeli-Syrian sector, the situation in the Middle East continues to be potentially dangerous and is likely to remain so, unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem can be reached.'

"That statement of the Secretary-General reflects the view of the Security Council."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1997/53.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3836

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3836th Meeting

Friday, 28 November 1997, 11.40 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Berrocal Soto
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Lopes da Rosa
	Japan	Mr. Konishi
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Matuszewski
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Hwang
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Sweden	Mr. Lidén
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

97-86605 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Čalovski (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1997/932, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

Informal consultations are still going on on some remaining technical aspects of the mandate of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), but in the meantime the mandate will expire on 30 November 1997. As a result of the informal consultations of the Council, the members of the Council have decided to adopt the draft resolution contained in document S/1997/932, to allow time for the completion of consultations.

I should like to draw attention to document S/1997/838 and Corrigendum 1, which contains the text of a letter dated 3 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution [S/1997/932] to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1140 (1997).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3837

Security Council

Fifty-second Year

Provisional

3837th Meeting

Friday, 28 November 1997, 11.50 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Qin Huasun	(China)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	Costa Rica	Mr. Berrocal Soto
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Lopes da Rosa
	Japan	Mr. Owada
	Kenya	Mr. Mahugu
	Poland	Mr. Matuszewski
	Portugal	Mr. Monteiro
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Sweden	Mr. Lidén
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (S/1997/832 and Add.1)

97-86611 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.50 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (S/1997/832 and Add.1)

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, Canada, Haiti and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lelong (Haiti) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Petrella (Argentina), Mr. Fowler (Canada) and Mr. Escovar-Salom (Venezuela) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti, documents S/1997/832 and S/1997/832/Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1997/931, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, France, Portugal, the United States of America and Venezuela.

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Lelong (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): At the close of your mandate as President of the Security Council for the month of November, during which you have demonstrated your sterling qualities, I wish, Sir, to congratulate you warmly on behalf of my delegation.

The United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), which was established for a four-month period by resolution 1123 (1997) of 30 July 1997, is coming to an end. The mandate of UNTMIH was to help the Haitian authorities professionalize the Haitian national police, and it did an outstanding job and made a substantial contribution to strengthening an institution that is of great importance to the progress of democracy in Haiti.

I take the opportunity presented by his departure to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Enrique ter Horst, for his effectiveness and dedication, which contributed to the success of the Mission. I also thank the commanders of the military forces and of the civilian police and the entire staff of UNTMIH for their efforts in support of democracy in Haiti. We convey our profound gratitude to all the countries that participated in the Mission or in various ways facilitated its full success, notably Canada and the United States, which have made special efforts in that regard.

When in March 1995 United Nations troops first arrived in Haiti to take over from the multinational force, the people and the Government of Haiti were facing an enormous challenge. We needed to rehabilitate a country that had been completely devastated, that was in the throes of an unbridled lack of security and whose institutions were failing — sometimes, indeed, non-existent.

Thanks to the climate of peace and security that United Nations personnel helped to maintain, there was major progress in many areas. Haiti regained stability. Once reformed, existing institutions began to work again, and new institutions were born. We are making progress towards building a State based on the rule of law. In his letter dated 29 October 1997 addressed to the Secretary-General, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. René Préval, stressed the decisive role played by the Organization in the maintenance of stability and security in our country, and its support for the consolidation of democracy.

With the departure of United Nations military forces, the Haitian National Police will alone shoulder responsibility for maintaining order and security. That institution, born barely two years ago to replace a corrupt, brutal army, has benefitted from the contribution of United Nations personnel in the areas of training and professionalization. Recent progress reports have shown that the Haitian National Police has made significant progress in certain decisive areas. But there is concern at the gap between the professionalization and growing integration of the police on the one hand and the pace of progress in the sphere of justice on the other; this can certainly lead to frustration among the people. The Haitian National Police needs international assistance to continue its own institutional development while also doing its job of maintaining security.

That is why, in his letter, President Préval requested the assistance of a civilian police mission to help with police training, which would make it possible for this institution — indispensable for the establishment of a State truly based on the rule of law — to experience balanced, smooth and prompt development.

As everybody knows, not all the problems facing Haiti have been resolved. The lack of security, linked to banditry and drug trafficking, continues to claim victims. The economy has not yet seen the recovery we had hoped for, and the living conditions of all Haitians have continued to deteriorate, with absolute poverty gaining ground despite the Government's efforts to remedy the situation.

Here we must stress that the firm determination to eliminate the vestiges of a regime of terror based on practices of domination, repression and monopoly that were at once anachronistic and sophisticated and to build a new social order cannot be limited to access by the majority to citizenship through the building and strengthening of democratic institutions. This endeavour requires that the population — the majority of which is without the benefits of twentieth-century progress — enjoy the material and spiritual conditions that lead to a life of dignity. This is difficult because of the vast gap between available resources and the enormous, ever-present demands that are becoming ever more urgent with the achievement of political freedoms. Integrated and sustainable development is an essential element for the stability of our country.

At this stage in our national reconstruction, the Haitian people continues to count on the support of the international community, which has already made considerable efforts for the restoration of democracy to Haiti.

For all these reasons, my delegation would ask the Security Council to adopt the draft resolution before it unanimously.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Haiti for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Petrella (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, Mr. Qin Huasun, let me congratulate you on the outstanding manner in which you have guided the work of the Security Council during an intensely busy month. This is no surprise given your experience and the prominence of your country in world affairs.

The draft resolution before the Council today would renew international assistance in the consolidation of democracy and institutions in Haiti. As the Secretary-General notes in his comprehensive report, he received a letter dated 29 October 1997 from the President of Haiti requesting continued United Nations support for the process that is under way. Accordingly, Argentina, which is committed to the defence of democracy and institutions, considers it necessary to give its express support for a continued United Nations presence in Haiti.

We know that to achieve the consolidation of a State's institutions, international assistance in itself is not a solution. The determination of all the political forces of Haiti is a necessary condition, as is the achievement of a general framework for international assistance that enables sustainable development to take place.

On this occasion, we once again express our thanks to all of the members of the Security Council for continuing to hold to their commitment to institutional consolidation in Haiti. In particular, we are grateful for the understanding shown by China and the Russian Federation in translating into reality a continuing United Nations presence in Haiti.

The mandate of the Mission that is being established by the draft resolution to be voted on faces the same difficulties as the missions previously deployed in Haiti.

For that reason, we attach special importance to the United Nations capacity for dialogue on the ground. Accordingly, we believe that maintaining an appropriate level of representation by the United Nations will be conducive to the success of that mandate.

Finally, we wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Enrique ter Horst, for the dedication and professionalism with which he has carried out his functions.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fowler (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): I am pleased to take the floor today as the Security Council considers a draft resolution establishing a United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH), an entirely new Mission which is clearly adapted to Haiti's special circumstances. The members of the Council are hereby sending a very positive and encouraging message to the Haitian people and their Government, a message that we strongly endorse.

Canada believes that the United Nations and the Security Council in particular can contemplate the completion of the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) with some measure of satisfaction. Canadian military personnel have spoken warmly of their experiences with this Mission and of their excellent relations with the Haitian people. As this Mission — one of Canada's most important military operations in recent years — draws to a close, Canada is particularly proud of all that UNTMIH has accomplished.

Here I wish to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Enrique ter Horst, for the part he played in the success of UNTMIH. His outstanding diplomatic skills were crucial assets and were highly appreciated by the Canadian staff of UNTMIH as well as by our embassy in Port-au-Prince.

We believe that this Mission enabled a smooth and successful transition period. UNTMIH paved the way for a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to Haiti's long-term development, meshing security concerns with technical assistance and a whole range of environmental, agricultural, educational and administrative reform programmes. Canada's largest bilateral assistance programme in the hemisphere, and one of our largest aid programmes in the world, is found in Haiti. This programme covers a broad range of poverty-reduction and peace-building programmes. We strongly support this measured and careful approach by the United Nations.

We believe that the new Mission to be established today and the draft resolution which authorizes it are evidence of the continuing commitment of the international community to assisting Haiti as it continues taking these early, important steps along the road to stability and development as a democratic nation. Although the military component of the peacekeeping operation in Haiti will now come to an end, our interest in and support for Haiti's progress are in no way diminished.

(*spoke in English*)

For our part, and on the assumption that there will be wide participation in the new Mission, Canada plans to contribute some 24 of our police officers to MIPONUH, along with six armoured personnel carriers for the special police unit. This will be in addition to the 22 Canadian police experts in Haiti under our bilateral technical assistance programme.

Haiti's immediate security needs cannot be divorced from longer-term development objectives. In this regard, we welcome the flexibility demonstrated by the Council in responding to Haiti's particular circumstances and needs, and especially in providing for MIPONUH's important coordination function with respect to all United Nations activities in Haiti.

We are particularly pleased that the new Mission will be of one year's duration. The continuity of such a mandate will be of great benefit to Haiti. The Haitian National Police has taken substantial strides forward in providing for Haiti's security needs. However, we agree with both President Préval and the Secretary-General's assessment that there is still much that remains to be done. In the absence of any tradition of civilian policing in Haiti, the guidance, training and mentoring provided by the United Nations Civilian Police, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) technical advisers and by the International Civilian Mission to Haiti (MICIVIH) continue to be critical to fostering good policing practices, which by definition include respect for fundamental human rights. This requires the development

of both investigatory and enforcement expertise. It also requires continuing vigilance against the abuse of authority by Haitian National Police officers and, in this regard, we are pleased that these officers are increasingly held accountable for unethical or abusive conduct. We must also encourage the Haitian National Police to develop appropriate supervisory skills, particularly at the middle- and senior-management levels.

Promoting the concept of community policing, so that citizens and police alike do not fall back into old patterns of behaviour that are unsuitable to a civilian force respectful of people's rights and at the service of the community, should be the informing principle of this new Mission. Community policing plays an integral role in other aspects of development, in particular initiatives targeting youth, education and fighting the traffic and consumption of illegal drugs. We look forward to continuing progress in all of these areas.

As we have said before the Council in the past, Canada remains very concerned at the growing gap between the Haitian National Police's achievements and the agonizingly slow pace of judicial reform. We cannot overemphasize the importance of progress in both of these areas. Without judicial reform, the National Police's development will be at best a pyrrhic victory. In partnership with the donor community, the United Nations Secretariat and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), we are continuing to offer the Haitian Government support in this field. Ultimately, however, it is the Government's responsibility to achieve the goal of an effective and fairly administered judicial system.

Finally, the political paralysis which has gripped Haiti for many months is also a source of concern. We urge all political parties in Haiti to work together to find a solution to the impasse and to permit the vital business of government, at this delicate phase in Haiti's development, to proceed. International assistance will be stymied if the host Government is not in a position to plan for and to implement such development.

Yet another milestone in Haiti's history will be passed with the adoption of this draft resolution. We are confident that the new Mission will afford the Government of Haiti a further opportunity to work towards ensuring political stability, respect for fundamental freedoms and economic development for the Haitian people.

For its part, Canada will continue to support strongly the Haitian people in their efforts to meet the challenges of the coming months.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Larraín (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Despite the unquestionable progress made by the Haitian National Police in recent months, the fact that certain goals have not yet been achieved makes it inadvisable for the United Nations to bring to an end the successful work of supporting and contributing to the professionalization of the Haitian National Police at all levels.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his clear assessment of the situation, contained in his report and its addendum, which are before the Security Council for consideration. The recommendations contained in the report deserve our full support. They are fully in keeping with the ultimate goal of achieving the consolidation of a professional national police force in Haiti.

My delegation believes that the existence of such a police force is a basic condition for the rule of law and for the stability of democratic institutions in that country. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, have endorsed that approach, and we therefore have before us today a draft resolution that will establish a new United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti to continue to provide assistance to the Government of Haiti, lending support and contributing to the professionalization of its national police force.

The duration of the mandate of the Mission, which is set at a single one-year period, has the merit of being realistic and consistent with the tasks it will have to carry out.

The draft does not, however, neglect the needs of the Haitian people in the sphere of development. Accordingly, the eighth preambular paragraph stresses the need for a sustained commitment by the international community and the international financial institutions to

assist and support economic, social and institutional development in Haiti.

The challenges currently faced by the Haitian people are considerable. The increasing professionalization of their police forces has brought out more clearly the constantly growing gap separating those forces from the judicial institutions. In the light of this observation, it seems more necessary than ever for Haitian democratic institutions resolutely to take up the task of judicial reform. No one can take Haiti's place in that endeavour, which must be tackled as soon as possible in parallel with efforts to train the national police.

As a member of the group of Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, Chile is pleased with the results achieved in the text that we will be voting on. We are grateful for the efforts of the delegations of members of the Security Council, which made it possible to accommodate various concerns without sacrificing the requirements of the Haitian people.

I would not want to conclude without expressing my country's gratitude to all the personnel of the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti, which is finishing up its excellent work, as well as to the countries that contributed to its formation. We are certain that the personnel of the new United Nations Mission will be able to meet the lofty challenge of helping provide Haiti with a truly professional and democratic police force.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): Portugal is a sponsor of the draft resolution before the Council on the constitution of the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH).

Despite some progress, serious problems persist in Haiti that require the continuation of the assistance of the United Nations. We are concerned about the continuation of violence and unrest, the difficult economic situation, the high level of unemployment, the rising cost of living and the slow pace of change in Haiti.

Given the fact that elections are due to take place in November 1998, the period ahead will be of crucial importance for the consolidation of democracy and national reconstruction. For that reason, comprehensive and sustained long-term assistance by the international community is vitally important.

A continued commitment, in particular from the international financial institutions and other United Nations agencies, is necessary to promote a successful and sustainable development that will underpin political stability in the country. We want to help Haitians build up a country where democracy and progress will be a reality. That can be achieved only if the rule of law and respect for human rights are ensured.

The Secretary-General's latest report underlines that, despite some progress, the Haitian National Police has not reached the level of professionalization required to tackle successfully the various problems in daily activities. In fact, a self-sustained and fully functioning police force is essential to ensure a secure and stable environment, economic rehabilitation and the consolidation of democracy in Haiti.

We therefore believe that it is of the utmost importance to maintain for a period of one year, until 30 November 1998, the presence of the United Nations, as the present draft resolution foresees. As requested recently by President Préval, the new Mission will continue to help the Government of Haiti professionalize its police force. In this context, we urge Haiti's authorities to pursue their efforts to form a public force respectful of legality, and also to pursue their efforts to revitalize Haiti's justice system, to which the Permanent Representative of Haiti referred earlier.

In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute to the positive role played by the personnel of the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) and their Governments, and also to the United States and Canada for their positive roles in ensuring the success of the Mission so far. Finally, I would also like to express a special word of commendation for the role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Haiti.

Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Costa Rica takes special satisfaction from the Security Council's holding of this formal meeting to discuss the situation in Haiti and to adopt the draft resolution that will establish the new United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti.

Some years ago, when forces hostile to freedom and democracy flouted the will of the Haitian people and destroyed the constitutional order in that country, the United Nations responded with immediacy and solidarity, unanimously condemning such illegitimate actions. When its support was needed, the Council gave timely approval to the establishment of a peacekeeping mission to support

pluralistic democracy and the Government that had been freely chosen by the Haitian people at the polls.

Due to the particular nature of political developments in Haiti, the armed forces of that Caribbean country have played a negative, repressive and disingenuous role with respect to the aspirations of the people. For that reason, Costa Rica has been of the view that an essential prerequisite for the consolidation of peace and national reconciliation in Haiti is demilitarization, the elimination of the armed forces and the creation of an apolitical and professional civilian police force.

The establishment of democratic peace in Haiti is also inextricably linked to the rule of law and, especially, the existence and functioning of a strong, independent and efficient judiciary with the necessary capacity to combat impunity and respond to the challenge of guaranteeing and promoting respect for the human rights of the population. This is one of the main factors for guaranteeing the political and institutional capacity of the Haitian State to give a prompt, timely, independent and full response to its inhabitants' longing for justice. That has been the focus of particular international attention, and we trust that the material support that this Organization has been giving to the process of strengthening the administration of justice in Haiti can be maintained.

One other essential aspect to consider is the fact that the existence and durability of peace in Haiti are based on the need to promote a true process of sustainable development and equity. This is frequently a commonplace in diplomatic and political discourse, but in the case of Haiti, it is an imperative and urgent matter that requires our attention.

We cannot ignore the worrying international figures contained in international statistics. Haiti has the highest poverty index in the western hemisphere, and on the basis of more general factors, it ranks last among the countries of the region in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Human Development Index*. We will not be able to say that peace in Haiti has been consolidated and firmly established so long as its inhabitants do not enjoy fair conditions of economic development and social justice. In this regard, Costa Rica views with special concern the fact that in the last year the international community has reduced its economic assistance to Haiti. We wish to appeal clearly for this trend to be reversed, and we trust that initiatives such as the UNDP "Haiti 2012" initiative will enjoy sufficient material support from cooperating countries.

The draft resolution before us, which my delegation is honoured to co-sponsor, is a timely response by the Security Council to the present situation in Haiti.

The operations of the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti in the process of the professionalization of the Haitian National Police demonstrated the need and justification for international support in this area. Therefore, we are sure that in the future the security and stability provided by the Haitian National Police will ensure conditions in which the process of judicial reform can continue and will mark out an appropriate setting for the process of economic revitalization.

Nonetheless, this entire effort will be pointless if the Haitian political class does not show a true sense of responsibility and determination to assume its obligations in the area of national reconciliation. Costa Rica, having brotherly relations with Haiti, appeals to the political leaders of that country to put aside confrontation and division and to work in unity and solidarity for peace, democracy, progress and equity for all Haitians.

In this context, my delegation fully supports the Secretary-General's initiative to establish the new United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti on an exceptional basis. As expressed in the report, the Mission will be entrusted with helping the Government of Haiti in the professionalization of the national Police in that fraternal country.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Security Council is meeting today to examine a draft resolution submitted regarding the establishment of the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) which will replace the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) after it has successfully fulfilled its Security Council mandate. In this regard, the delegation of Egypt would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Mr. Enrique ter Horst.

My delegation has reviewed the report of the Secretary-General [S/1997/832 and Add.1], which clearly reflects the great achievements of the Mission and the technical assistance it has provided to the Haitian National Police, especially in the areas of rapid intervention, investigation and the professionalization of the work of the Haitian National Police in the operational sphere. The draft resolution before the Council today comes in response to the appeal addressed by President Préval of Haiti to the Secretary-General for continued

United Nations assistance to the Haitian National Police after the end of the mandate of the Transition Mission. That appeal also coincided with the sensitive situation perceived by the United Nations in Haiti. All that prompted the Secretary-General to send a Special Representative to assess the prevailing situation in Haiti, which led to the recommendation by the Secretary-General to set up a Civilian Police Mission in Haiti in order to help supplement the support and training of the Haitian National Police.

In view of Egypt's perception of the important and vital role of the United Nations and the significance of its operational activities in bringing stability and providing support for national institutions that operate in the developing countries in the sphere of national reconciliation, we stress here the relevance of supporting the efforts of President Preval to overcome the political crisis facing Haiti, and that attainment of final resolutions of the main areas of dispute among the political actors, namely, elections, economic reform and the appointment of a new Prime Minister. However, Haiti's political problems, as emphasized in the report of the Secretary-General and the provisions of the draft resolution on which we are about to vote today, underscore once again the need to address the economic problems facing Haiti. Therefore, the efforts of the United Nations Development Programme, as well as those of other United Nations agencies and programmes, will be crucial in achieving real economic growth rates which would eventually lead to political stability in Haiti. All of this will hinge upon the financial and technical assistance rendered by the international community to the process of development. Therefore, the delegation of Egypt appeals to the international community to respond to the call made by the Secretary-General to expedite the provision of voluntary contributions for the economic reconstruction of Haiti.

Finally, we recognize that the reference made in the draft resolution to special arrangements accorded to the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) will not constitute a precedent for other operations of the same nature which the United Nations may deal with in the future. In accordance with our understanding, such arrangements arise from the particular nature of the current situation in Haiti at this time, and the requirements of dealing with it. Accordingly, Egypt will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): The support of the United Nations has played an essential role in the establishment in Haiti of a police force that respects legality. The strengthening of the national police is essential for the consolidation of democracy and a State based on the rule of law in Haiti.

Following earlier United Nations missions, the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), whose mandate ends on 30 November, has supported efforts made by the Haitian authorities, particularly in the area of police training. United Nations monitors have also provided assistance to the Haitian National Police in carrying out their daily tasks.

As stressed by President Préval in his letter of 29 October addressed to the Secretary-General, this police force, which has been in action for only two years, still needs support to complete its development.

The Secretary-General's report notes that the current situation in the country remains fraught with uncertainty. There are still many difficulties — political, social and security difficulties. It is therefore essential that the security of the population be guaranteed by a police force which is competent, effective, and which enjoys the trust of the people.

For all these reasons, France supports the request of the Haitian authorities to establish a civilian police mission. It also supports the recommendations made by the Secretary-General to that end.

Within the group of Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, France participated in the preparation of the draft resolution now before the Council. France will vote in favour of the text. The draft resolution proposes the establishment of a United Nations civilian police mission for the next 12 months. This mission will be responsible for helping the authorities to continue with the work of professionalizing the Haitian National Police.

While continuing the work already undertaken by the United Nations, the new mission will mark a change compared to previous missions. This mission will be entirely composed of civilian police. Specific arrangements have been made, *inter alia,* in the area of the security of United Nations monitors. However, these arrangements, as the draft resolution makes clear, do not constitute precedents for other operations of the same kind.

France will continue to contribute financially to the mission under the terms of United Nations resolutions on this subject. In this regard, we took note with interest of

the document submitted to us during unofficial consultations this morning that gives the picture of contributions made, payments outstanding and amounts due. It is agreeable for France to see that it is fully paid up with regard to past contributions for the financing of United Nations missions. We hope that this example, which fortunately is not the only example, will be followed by all Member States.

We will also give a contribution in staff comparable to the one we gave to the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti. France will make available to the new mission 36 gendarmes and policemen, as well as the senior officer who is currently heading the police force.

Mr. Owada (Japan): With the assistance and support provided by the United Nations civilian police element, including the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), certain improvements have been made in the professionalization of the Haitian National Police. I wish to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Government of Japan for the contributions which this international effort has made to the rehabilitation process in Haiti.

Despite these improvements, Japan recognizes that the international community must continue to support the training and professionalization of the Haitian National Police to ensure that it is capable of maintaining law and order throughout society and to nurture the democratization process. Japan thus supports the establishment of a United Nations police mission in Haiti, or MIPONUH, as referred to in the addendum to the Secretary-General's report. We owe a special debt of gratitude to those countries that have contributed to UNTMIH for their willingness to make their personnel, equipment and other supplies available to this new follow-on force.

The role of a civilian police force can be truly effective only if there is a credible judicial system in place. In this context, the delay in the establishment of such a judicial system in Haiti is a matter of acute concern. Japan calls upon the Government of Haiti to work in good faith to revitalize the system of justice as expeditiously as possible.

Other grave problems remain. In particular, my delegation cannot but express its grave concern about the fact that the country has been without a functioning Government since the Prime Minister resigned in June. For the democratization process to proceed, it is essential that the political parties put aside their differences and agree to engage in cooperation for an effective Government without further delay.

Recognizing that the stability of Haiti is important to the stability of the Caribbean region and, indeed, to the Latin American region as a whole, Japan contributed $3 million dollars in March 1995 to the United Nations trust fund for the establishment of the Haitian police. This is in addition to the cooperation it has extended to Haiti in the three years since the democratic Government was established. It has been providing this cooperation, amounting to more than $50 million dollars, in such forms as assistance for economic structural reform, food aid, assistance for food production and planning and technical assistance for road construction. In extending this assistance, it has been Japan's intention to assist in the process of economic development and democratization to be promoted by the Government and people of Haiti. This is an endeavor that must remain a matter of great interest to all of us in the international community.

For all these reasons, Japan will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Mahugu (Kenya): When the Kenya delegation supported the transformation of the United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH) into the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) on 30 July 1997, we stressed that the vote was a strong gesture in support of the Haitian people. Today, this support is still undiminished and strong, and Kenya will once again register its support for the Haitian people by joining in the establishment of a United Nations police mission in Haiti to be known as MIPONUH.

The evolution of Haiti's political transition process requires that the Haitian National Police receives all the assistance it can get, in order to completely professionalize its structures and operations. This monumental task is made even more urgent by a worrisome proliferation of weapons and the lack of an adequate police presence in some remote areas of the country, thus resulting in the formation of vigilante groups. It is, therefore, quite commendable that, despite these difficulties, the Haitian National Police has made some noteworthy organizational and operational progress in at least three of the nine departments, as well as instilling discipline in the force.

Much progress has been made, but clearly more needs to be done. A transition process troubled by incessant insecurity hinders a solid post-conflict peace-

building effort. Indeed, as the Secretary-General states in paragraph 39 of his 31 October 1997 report:

> "the National Police will need international assistance if it is to continue to pursue its own institutional development while meeting the country's increasing security needs".

President René Préval's letter to the Secretary-General dated 29 October 1997 noted the importance of strengthening the Haitian National Police force. Haiti can count on Kenya's support of this request for a suitable follow-on civilian police mission. This would definitely enhance the training of the police to ensure that:

> "this institution, indispensable to the establishment of a State truly under the rule of law, can develop in a balanced way, smoothly and quickly".

We are indeed hopeful that its establishment next week on 1 December 1997 will achieve this result.

In our last statement on this matter my delegation stressed that only a concerted, wholehearted attack on poverty and a complete focus on development would alleviate Haiti's problems. As a developing country, we know that at the heart of the insecurity problem inside Haiti lies the unyielding weight of poverty and relative lack of improvement in the basic living conditions of the Haitian people. We are therefore happy to note the continued efforts by the international community, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), to formulate a long-term development initiative known as "Haiti 2012".

A consensus by interested parties on the development path the country should take will, hopefully, alleviate the donor fatigue referred to in the Secretary-General's report and enable Haiti to compete more effectively for what is referred to as a diminishing pool of official resources. My delegation is therefore hopeful that in the months prior to the termination of the mandate of the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) on 30 November 1998 the international community will focus more on the development side of its relations with Haiti and gradually disengage its security/military/civilian police links with Haiti. We say this fully aware that development is achievable only within a peaceful socio-political environment, a position that in the past has driven and continues to energize Kenya's own regional peacemaking efforts.

Haiti's future lies in the evolution of credible, strong institutions. Institutionalizing regular elections within its democratic process is a major step in the right direction. Inter-party negotiations to create a Permanent Electoral Council in a spirit of tolerance and reconciliation, as recently reiterated by the Secretary-General, will greatly facilitate the transition and adequately prepare the Haitian people for legislative and local elections by November 1998. It is also because of the necessity of establishing credible institutions that my delegation wholeheartedly welcomes the Secretary-General's appeal that judicial reform be a priority, firmly entrenched in the knowledge that the rule of law is a fundamental building block of any democratic system.

All the above-mentioned issues are addressed specifically or generally in the draft resolution. We also note the proposal in the draft that MIPONUH be a one-year operation, without extension. We support this approach, and my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Cognizant of the fact that the ultimate responsibility for Haiti lies in Haitian hands, my delegation warmly commends the men and women of UNTMIH for a job well done, and encourages the Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti to continue the good work as they try to resolve Haiti's problems, with the help of Mr. Enrique ter Horst, the Secretary-General's hard-working Special Representative.

Mr. Matuszewski (Poland): Despite the considerable progress that has been made since the return of democratic rule to Haiti, the situation in that country continues to be difficult and highly precarious. The apparent inability of the Haitian State institutions to overcome the continuing constitutional crisis causes us concern. We join other members of the Council in appealing to the political forces in Haiti to resume meaningful dialogue with a view to improving the situation.

While it must be emphasized that the ultimate responsibility for the future of their country rests with the Haitians themselves, the need for the international community to assist them in securing further progress towards peace, democracy and prosperity is evident. The Secretary-General in his report has identified the areas where this assistance is particularly important and outlined its operational framework. The law enforcement system and the judiciary figure prominently on the Secretary-General's list, and rightly so.

As stated by the Secretary-General, the most recent examination of the development of the Haitian National Police has brought mixed results. With progress revealed in some key areas, shortcomings — at times significant — continue to abound. Consequently, to consolidate the achievements recorded so far, the establishment of a follow-on Mission aimed at helping the Haitian National Police to reach the standards required of a fully professional police force is warranted. The draft resolution appropriately addresses the situation by setting up a United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) with a one-year mandate to continue to assist the Government of Haiti by supporting and contributing to the professionalization of the Haitian National Police.

While considering the new United Nations Mission in Haiti, the Security Council took note of the letter dated 29 October 1997 from the President of Haiti, Mr. René Préval, and the request it contained for further assistance in the training of the Haitian police. It is important to note that the President of Haiti emphasizes in his letter that there is no further need to contemplate the presence of United Nations military forces in his country. This in itself speaks volumes about the difference the predecessors of MIPONUH made in the life of Haiti. Mr. Préval's letter is also welcome as a declaration that the Haitian authorities are ready to assume full responsibility for maintaining security in their country.

The delegation of Poland wishes to thank the sponsors for the draft resolution they have submitted to the Council. For the reasons I have just stated, the delegation of Poland will vote in favour of it.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to the members of the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) and its predecessors, the United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH) and the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), for their contribution to peace, security and stability in Haiti and in the whole region. I would also like to express gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Haiti, Mr. Enrique ter Horst, for the leadership he has provided in achieving the unquestionable success of the United Nations endeavours in Haiti. We believe that the Governments of the United States and Canada, whose generous contributions made it possible to give the United Nations peacekeeping operations in Haiti the necessary strength, deserve our sincere appreciation.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): Successive United Nations Missions, from the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), have laid solid foundations for peace and stability in Haiti. They have achieved important progress, in particular, in professionalising the Haitian National Police, which is vital to the rule of law and the successful transition to a stable democracy.

And yet, in the light of the precarious security situation and the lack of a functioning judicial system, compounded by the climate of political instability, more should be done if the international community's hard-won achievements are to be made irreversible. The consolidation of the rule of law is the very basis for promoting human rights and democracy. This is possible only when Haiti has an effective, politically neutral and professional law enforcement mechanism. In this regard, the professionalization of the Haitian National Police is the most cost-effective way for the international community to make a difference in the destiny of Haiti by helping to consolidate the rule of law in that country.

We wish to emphasize here again that international assistance cannot be a substitute for fulfilment of the ultimate responsibility of the Haitian people and their political leaders to resolve their own problems. In this connection, it is our strong hope that the political forces in Haiti will work together to put an end to the ongoing political paralysis.

In the longer term, peace and stability in Haiti will be viable only when firmly backed by a functioning democracy and socio-economic development. For this reason, we look forward to the successful holding of a general election in November next year and attach great importance to the sustained support of international financial institutions and the specialized agencies of the United Nations in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Haiti.

The Republic of Korea reiterates its strong commitment to peace and stability, based on the rule of law and vibrant democracy, in Haiti. We have provided assistance to Haiti in the modest amount of more than $500,000 since 1995, including a voluntary contribution of $200,000 to the Trust Fund established under Security Council resolution 975 (1995) and the provision of police equipment on a bilateral basis.

Korea takes note of the request of President Préval, and supports the establishment of a United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti. We therefore will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Finally, we highly commend Mr. ter Horst for his eminent leadership and the men and women who have served in the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) for the successful completion of their mission.

Mr. Lidén (Sweden): The United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) has successfully followed up on the efforts of its predecessors in making significant contributions in an area of fundamental importance to Haiti's political, economic and social development. The United Nations system has been instrumental in improving the conduct and effectiveness of the Haitian National Police. We are pleased to note that emphasis can now be put on the civilian element of the international presence in Haiti.

The setting up of a new mission, the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH), once more demonstrates the increasing importance of civilian police in the development of democratic institutions following strife or conflict.

The case of Haiti still requires some exceptional solutions, due to the fragile security situation. We are satisfied that the arrangements envisaged in MIPONUH are tailor-made for Haiti, and will not necessarily serve as precedents for other civilian police operations.

In establishing a new civilian police mission in Haiti today, the Council has acted on a request by President Préval. The success of this operation depends on the complete cooperation and support of the Haitian authorities.

Reform of the National Police is far from the only essential requirement for consolidating democracy and the rule of law in Haiti. The absence of a functioning and reliable judicial system remains an immediate concern. The Haitian leaders must do their utmost to re-establish faith in their capacity to resolve the problems facing their country and to earn the respect of the people.

The international community remains committed to a long-term programme for the development of Haiti in support of national efforts. This programme should include economic, social and institutional development. We foresee a need for increased involvement by international financial institutions and United Nations special agencies in this process.

Sweden, for its part, is presently considering a contribution to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Trust Fund for Haiti.

We give our support to the draft resolution.

Mr. Fedotov (Russian Federation)(*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian delegation is pleased to note that the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), which played a significant role in strengthening the bases of constitutional democracy, has successfully fulfilled the tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council under resolution 1123 (1997). The United Nations military operation has been completed. A stable, albeit fragile, situation is being maintained in Haiti.

The Haitian National Police continue to gain experience. Events in that country, as we have repeatedly pointed out, did not and still do not pose a threat to regional peace and security. The situation in Haiti is marked by a complex transition to democracy, which unfortunately does not have firm roots in Haitian society, and has been exacerbated by a prolonged social and economic crisis. In this context, resolving the problem of Haiti's economic rehabilitation and reconstruction takes on particular importance. We are convinced that only by successfully carrying out that task can we create a truly firm basis for the strengthening of democracy in that country. The international community will in future have to supply technological, economic and financial assistance to support political stability and balanced development, democratic institution-building and respect for human rights.

We are not against maintaining a United Nations presence in Haiti, but with the proviso that it is conducted in keeping with today's real requirements. In our view, the peacekeeping role of the United Nations in Haiti has been successfully fulfilled. At the same time, we have taken into consideration the request of President René Préval and the recommendation of the Secretary-General, as well as the views of the group of Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti. We have accommodated their wishes and are prepared to support the proposal to establish a new United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) in order to continue international assistance to strengthen the Haitian National Police, but with the clear understanding that the new operation will, as the draft resolution provides, have a clearly defined mandate limited to a single one-year period ending on 30 November 1998. In our view, future assistance to the

Haitian National Police should be provided through the United Nations special agencies and programmes, *inter alia*, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), international and regional organizations and bilateral channels by interested countries.

We also deem it appropriate to note that in the context of the Haitian operation we cannot forget the acute financial crisis the United Nations is experiencing, the reasons for which are well known to all, namely, the problem of non-payment by a number of States Members. Even this comparatively small new Mission in Haiti is still very burdensome for the lean United Nations peacekeeping budget. In this connection, I would emphasize that the Russian Federation has no debts with regard to the Mission in Haiti, and we hope that other States will discharge their obligations. We welcome the additional voluntary contributions by interested States to ease the financial implications for the United Nations of carrying out this new operation. We are grateful to the sponsors of the draft resolution for having taken our proposals into account in the draft.

In view of that and the points I made earlier, and in a spirit of compromise, our delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Burleigh (United States of America): Over the last three years the Government and people of Haiti have made progress in building an inclusive and representative democracy. Institutions such as the Haitian Parliament and municipal governments have developed into independent bodies. Political violence no longer threatens Haitians in their daily lives, and today Haiti enjoys a free press. Fundamental economic reforms are beginning, including the first privatization of a State-owned industry. In short, the foundation for broad-based growth is being laid.

The United Nations — through the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), the United Nations Development Programme and the International Civilian Mission in Haiti — is playing an essential role in this process. As a sign of the progress to date, the remaining United Nations military element can be withdrawn.

Today, the Haitian National Police includes over 6,000 officers who are present in all nine of Haiti's provinces. At the request of President René Préval and at the recommendation of the Secretary-General, we act today to ensure its further development. The continued growth of the Haitian National Police from a few young and inexperienced recruits to an effective, independent police force is crucial to Haiti's future. The creation of the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) to assist in mentoring and training the Haitian National Police will build upon a process already well begun. My Government commends all those who have contributed to MIPONUH's predecessor, UNTMIH, particularly the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Enrique ter Horst. The many nations that have participated in UNTMIH's work can take pride in their accomplishment. My Government remains committed to supporting peaceful political and economic development in Haiti. To this end, we are providing helicopters, a medical unit and up to 50 civilian police for MIPONUH, in addition to nearly $100 million in bilateral economic assistance this year. We will also consider other ways to support MIPONUH.

The Government of Haiti is fast approaching full responsibility for public safety. But despite the progress, obstacles remain. The Haitian National Police still needs help in dealing with ruthless gangs, drug traffickers and political groups that seek to manipulate the police for their own ends. The presence of a civilian police mission will allow Haiti's police to continue its growth in competence for another year.

As the Secretary-General's report makes clear, we must not close our eyes to the problems that persist. The efforts of the international community come against a backdrop of deep division within Haiti over the course and the pace of political and economic change. There, as elsewhere, democracy remains a work in progress. If the Haitian people are to see a brighter future, they must receive the necessary tools and assistance from the international community. Creation of MIPONUH will do just that, and for that reason the United States strongly supports its establishment.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of China.

China has always been concerned about the situation in Haiti. We sincerely hope that the political situation in Haiti will stabilize and economic reconstruction start as soon as possible. It is out of this desire that China has consistently supported the peacekeeping operation of the United Nations in Haiti.

We believe that the United Nations should promptly conclude its peacekeeping operation in Haiti, transfer the focus of its work to helping Haiti undertake economic

reconstruction and provide the necessary assistance in this regard. In this respect, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and other multilateral-assistance institutions can play a leading role.

Considering the current situation in Haiti and the request from the Haitian Government, China agrees to keep the United Nations civilian police operation in Haiti, as an exceptional case. We hope that this will allow the Haitian National Police to be professionalized promptly and enable Haiti to embark on the road towards stability and development.

The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1997/931.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1141 (1997).

There are no further speakers left on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.